Formal education and the development of modern attitudes and values in the Philippines in the 1990s

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ABSTRACT

Attitude and value development was made an explicit goal for Philippine education for the first time in the 1987 constitution. The study traces the policy origin of these goals and locates this within the education reform programme overseen by multilateral agencies such as the World Bank from 1970. It identifies these education policies as deriving from and still related to the ideas of modernisation theory. Via a mixed method research project, the study examines attitudes and values held by a sample of Filipinos, contrasting more educated and less educated groups and analyses whether experience of different qualities of education gives rise to different attitudinal characteristics. It finds that high quality education does promote the adoption of the stated attitude and value goals, resulting in attitudinal characteristics which are slightly, but demonstrably different from those associated with social class. Access to less or only to lower quality education is found to be less effective in promoting the identified attitudinal development, especially in the area of individual assertiveness and self-reliance, but it also finds that these different characteristics may arise mainly as a result of economic circumstance. As a consequence, the study finds that a major element of the original educational reforms, that of increased privatisation beyond primary school, undermines the ability of formal education to achieve its stated attitudinal goals. The possibility that participation in formal education promotes an identification with "foreign" values, a consequence of which may be an accommodation of the idea of overseas migration for work, is also considered. The study finds no evidence that experience of education promotes migration, but that it does facilitate it, especially via the system's duality based on the retention of the English language as the medium of instruction.

Contents

List of Acronyms

ACT	Alliance of Concerned Teachers
ADM	Adamson University
ASEAN	Association of South-East Asian Nations
CIIR	Catholic Institute for International Relations
DECS	Department of Education Culture and Sports
DLS	De La Salle University
EDPITAF	Education Projects Implementing Task Force
EF	Education Forum
EIU	Economist Intelligence Unit
FDC	Freedom from Debt Coalition
FEER	Far Eastern Economic Review
FEU	Far Eastern University
GABRIELA	General Assembly Binding Women for Reforms, Integrity, Equality, Leadership and Action
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
HE	Higher Education
IDV	Individualism (Hofstede's definition)
IID	Initiatives for International Dialogue
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISEAS	Institute of South East Asian Studies
IT	Information Technology
KMO	Kaiser-Meier-Olkin
KMU	*Kilusang Mayo Uno* (May First Movement)
MAS	Masculinity (Hofstede's definition)
MECS	Ministry of Education Culture and Sports
NCEE	National College Entrance Examination
NCR	National Capital Region
NEDA	National Economic Development Authority
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIC	Newly Industrialised Country
OCW	Overseas Contract Worker
PCSPE	Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education
PD, PDI	Power Difference (Index) (Hofstede's definition)
PMAP	Personnel Managers Association of the Philippines
PROCEED	Program for Comprehensive Elementary Education
PRODED	Program to Decentralise Philippine Education
PUP	Polytechnic University of the Philippines
SAL	Structural Adjustment Loan
SEARRAG	Southeast Asian Research Review and Advisory Group
SEDP	Secondary Education Development Programme
SIR	Smooth Inter-Personal Relations
TIP	Technology Institute of the Philippines
UAI	Uncertainty Avoidance Index (Hofstede's definition)
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UOE	University of the East
UP, UPH	University of the Philippines
US, USA	United States of America
WB	World Bank

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1. Preamble

One term into my first teaching appointment in the 1970s I found myself head teacher of a Third World self-help community school. Working as a volunteer teacher in rural Kenya created a lasting interest in the relationship between economic development and education. In the 1960s education had been seen as a panacea, but 10 years after Kenya's independence its worth and relevance were being questioned, since it had not provided the stimulus to development that it promised. Despite the predominantly agrarian nature of the society, education was perceived as essential for every individual and indeed the only means of achieving salaried employment. I have now worked in formal education for over 30 years in five countries, in Africa, the Far East, the Middle East and Europe, in the secondary and tertiary sectors. Over the years, claims for education's role have, if anything, increased.

During 16 years in London, I was involved in my spare time with the work of development agencies and international non-governmental organisations (NGOs). For seven years, from 1985-1992, I focussed mainly on the Philippines via my wife's work with the Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR). I met a wide range of Filipinos from government, NGOs, academic life, community groups, political organisations, church and business. This created my special interest in and knowledge of the country.

Having completed an Open University module in development studies in 1988, I embarked on a Master's Degree in Education and became influenced by Stenhouse's (1975) idea of the teacher as researcher. Discussions with contacts in the Philippines led to my dissertation on the effects of multilateral agency policies in Philippine education during the 1980s. The focus of that study was on changes in educational quality during the debt

decade and, having completed it in 1991 and fed back the results, a number of my partners suggested there was room for a wider study on Philippine education. I began to discuss possible scenarios for such a study with them, out of which the current project arose.

The draft proposal for a research project was submitted in late 1992 to the Education Department of the Open University. This was eventually passed to Development Policy and Practice. After moving to Asia at the end of 1992, I visited the Philippines in October 1993 to hold preliminary discussions about the focus of the research. It was during this visit that the study of attitudinal change associated with education first emerged. A year later, after substantial correspondence, I was able to present a draft questionnaire to my partners for comment, pilot the instrument in three universities and discuss the findings, which I had coded and analysed on receipt of the completed pilot questionnaires. Also on this visit an interview schedule was discussed, devised, piloted and evaluated for effectiveness. The main data gathering visit, using a revised questionnaire, took place in late 1995. Data entry was then the main task. This took almost a year to complete, since all the work had to be done in my spare time. Analysis of the data followed.

During 1998 I wrote a first draft of the thesis, a draft that was not only re-written but which was also re-focussed when the second draft was completed in 2003. The long gap between these drafts came about as a result of two things. First, my new post in Zayed University, United Arab Emirates, proved very exacting and left very little free time for the research and consequently I was unable to make visits to the United Kingdom to consult with my supervisors. The thesis was again re-written after my first examination in 2004.

As a result of the above, the study is now presented as an historical record of the state of attitude and value formation in Philippine education in the 1990s, rather than a contemporary assessment. It loses no significance, however, since it is my belief that

education policy in the country has changed very little in the last ten years. To demonstrate this, however, would be beyond the scope of the current study.

1.2. Rationale for the study

The period from 1970 to 1990 saw the implementation of educational reform in the Philippines under the direction of the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF). The programme included the incorporation of individual attitudinal development goals for formal education for the first time in its history. The period also saw a significant increase in the numbers of educated Filipinos migrating for work, while the domestic economy continued to stagnate. Given this context, the current study sought to:

- identify the attitudinal development goals associated with the educational reforms
- locate these attitudinal goals in the theory of education's contribution to economic development
- examine the extent to which these attitudinal goals were being achieved
- investigate the extent to which the pursuit and adoption of these goals promoted an identification with "foreign" cultural capital and thus migration.

Because the educational reforms began in the 1970s, with their programmes in place by the mid-1980s, the study necessarily considers the outcomes in the light of debates on development that precede the 1990s. It will be demonstrated, however, that these reform policies were subsequently applied in many other countries and that the assumptions underpinning them continue to influence thinking on education's contribution to economic development. The findings of the study are, therefore, of enduring importance for contemporary assessments of education's role in development and its role in creating human capital.

The Philippine education system is extensive and has a long history. Identified by Harbison and Myers (1964) as a system similar to those in middle or upper middle income countries,

in the 1990s Philippine education served a society which remained in the lower middle income bracket in terms of gross domestic product (GDP) per capita. It was often described as over-developed for a society whose economy could not satisfy the aspirations of its graduates (Cooney & Pacqueo-Arreza 1995; Gonzales 1989; ILO 1974; Intal 1995; PCSPE 1970; Swinterton 1991; Tilak 1994; UNDP 1994).

The initial agenda for education reform was drawn up in 1970 by the Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education (PCSPE). It found that the system was characterised by poor quality, over-centralisation, inequality, inconsistent access and a concentration on sectors and types of education deemed not conducive to furthering economic development. Despite universal access, high levels of literacy and a high percentage of university graduates, the Philippines was a regional laggard in terms of economic development (Pernia 1993). The educational reforms of the mid-1970s and beyond were to improve quality, especially in primary education, decentralise higher education (HE) and generally increase the stock of human capital, to assist with the national aim of emulating development elsewhere in South East Asia. The reforms continued throughout the economic downturn and debt of the 1980s and involved the application of neo-liberal measures aimed at increasing the role of the private sector in education, especially at the secondary and tertiary levels (Hirschman 1985). In the Philippines this meant expanding an existing and extensive private sector.

By the mid-1990s Philippine education had been subjected to 20 years of reform according to policy prescriptions of the multilateral agencies (Ibon 1990; Intal 1995; Lim 1987; Rosario-Braid 1994). During the 1970s, these reforms were funded via education sector loans and later, during the 1980s, they were incorporated into Structural Adjustment Loans (SALs). In the 1970s, the Philippines was one of the first countries to receive such education sector loans, following changes in WB policy (Psacharopoulos 1983). It has

become a widely-held belief amongst educators, political observers and members of NGOs in the country that the Philippines became a test-bed for the formulation and application of the multilateral agencies' education policies, which later were applied to many Third World countries (Broad 1988; Psacharopoulos and Sanyal 1981). Indeed, it has led some observers to claim that these policies became nothing less than orthodoxy during that era (Helleiner 1986, 1992; King 1990; Korner et al 1984).

After 20 years of reform, many interested parties in the Philippines could not detect the promised improvements. They argued that the period of austerity had forced reductions in education sector spending that had reduced overall quality and access, had raised fees in higher education creating greater inequalities and, crucially, had not produced the type of human capital that was relevant to the needs of the Philippine economy. Above all, many observers believed that the "foreign" nature of the system as a result of the reforms coupled with its inherent inequality were conspiring to produce attitudinal changes and aspirations that the Philippine economy could not satisfy, alongside allegiances and ideologies that Filipino society could not accommodate. Education was thus fostering a propensity to migrate to surroundings where employment, status, personal identity and social aspirations could be satisfied. What the reforms had produced, they argued, was a system geared to the needs of international migrant labour, promoting the idea of migration and thus becoming a cost to the nation rather than an asset (Schuh 1982). The study sought to examine if this attitudinal characteristic existed and if it was promoted by education.

From the outset, the intention was to identify and describe the attitude characteristics associated with exposure to and participation in formal education and to compare and contrast them with those predicted by theory, policy and stated intention. As will be illustrated in Chapter Four, it was not the intention to identify either causation or mechanisms by which particular attitudinal characteristics are promoted. It will also be

demonstrated, however, that this description of attitudes and values promoted by education illustrates how inequality of access to educational quality has been perpetuated and perhaps amplified by reforms aimed initially at reducing it.

It was necessary, therefore, to identify formal education's contribution to economic development and, specifically, the part played by attitudinal change. The word "development" is used in two different senses. Economic development refers to changes associated with the spread and growth of capitalism, marketisation, industrialisation, urbanisation and the use of technology. Attitudinal development, however, refers to the adoption of particular attitudes and values at the individual level, primarily as a result of exposure to formal education. These become societal only if and when a sufficient number of people adopt these values.

As Chapter Two demonstrates, these concepts of development underpinned the multilateral agencies' policy goals that were the basis of the education reforms, and what the Philippine government wanted to achieve. Both of these meanings of development will be shown to correspond with the theories of the early writers on modernisation. Neither implies a complete transformation of the whole society. The changed structures exist alongside others and may compete with them. At no point, however, do I assume that these processes of development either cease or become defunct. Technology is constantly changing. Urban centres grow, decay and regenerate. Industries and markets establish, mature and dwindle. Development, therefore, is on-going. Economic development is a continuous process for all societies. Attitudinal development, likewise, is a lifelong process of change and re-education for every individual. For each cohort of students, formal education has the potential and - according to the theory of modernisation - the responsibility to encourage attitudinal development which will allow the individual to cope with the demands of citizenship and participate effectively in the economy.

The early modernisers postulated that societies might make a single transition from the traditional to the modern, a position that remains relevant to the current study's analysis of the role of education in the Philippines in the 1990s. But nowhere do I assume this process is a single change and neither, I contend, did the concept of development that underpinned the dominant education policy of the 1970s and 1980s. For the purposes of this study, modernisation can therefore be understood to be "reflexive modernisation", in the sense used by Giddens (1990) and Beck et al (1994). In addition, while the process may be universal, the end results are usually different. Britain began its industrialisation in the eighteenth century, whereas Singapore's happened in the second half of the twentieth. Both industrialisation processes involved similar characteristics, but no-one would suggest that the end products were similar, except for the fact that technology and science were applied to production processes, products were presented to markets in greater quantity, employment conditions changed and both societies increased linkages to a capitalist system that was larger than the nation state. So, modernisation may lead to "multiple modernities", as in Beck's (1997) view, as well as to "reflexive modernity" in which the processes of societal, economic and individual attitudinal development are continually re-applied, as in Giddens (1990). Again, there is nothing new in this notion, since Wilkinson (1973) proposed essentially the same idea of "repeating" development in response to the consequences of previous applications of changed techniques and knowledge, as did Riesman[1], in his introduction to Lerner's (1958) classic work on modernisation. Equally, knowledge is not static and education programmes need continual revision to remain relevant to the needs of their students, implying that the society as a whole continues to pursue development via the re-application of modernity, thereby re-assessing and re-defining its economic and attitudinal characteristics (Inglehart and Baker 2000).

[1] Page 14 of the 1964 paperback edition, 1966 reprint.

After establishing this link with modernisation theory, multilateral agency education policies are compared with the educational reforms which initiated new goals for formal education in the Philippines. This identifies the kind of attitudinal change at the individual - and thereby the societal - level envisaged by the reforms. Particular attitudinal characteristics associated with exposure to formal education are then surveyed to assess whether these correspond to those specified by theory and associated policy. It is then possible to judge whether opinions expressed in the Philippines about the inappropriateness or "foreign" nature of formal education were justified and whether educational experience was a factor in promoting migration.

This process, therefore, required a survey of literature to identify education's theoretical and potential role in economic development and then to assess the specific contribution of attitude and value formation. At the inception of the policy reforms, the regional models that the Philippines was trying to emulate were to be found in Taiwan, South Korea and the other Asian Tigers. This form of development entailed industrialisation, increases in GDP, higher levels of modern sector employment and increasing participation in world trade via the creation of an export-orientated economy, thus forming an essentially modernising approach. This transformation in the Tigers had been achieved as a result of agrarian reform, capital investment, application of technology and, crucially, the development of human capital via an education system that offered wide access and high quality (Ogawa et al 1993).

World Bank (WB) education policy in the 1970s was heavily influenced by Denison's (1962) and Schultz's (1993) work on human capital and, as will be seen in Chapter Two, it also fitted neatly into a modernisation perspective. The Philippines in 1970 was already highly urbanised and highly educated, but the modern economic sector was quite small, with much of the economy focussed on primary production. A high percentage of the

population was dependent on participation in agriculture and there were high levels of inequality of access to both education and land (Boyce 1993). The education sector reforms were only part of a series of measures imposed at the time - under martial law, as it happens - aimed at society-wide transformation. Indeed, educational reform was not the only reforming policy initiative from that period that may have failed to achieve its goals, as Putzel's (1992) work on agrarian reform demonstrates.

Then policy in the Philippines had to be examined to identify what attitudinal attainments were set as goals for formal education. It was also necessary to identify whether these had changed substantially over the century or so of the public education system's existence. This identified whether the modernisation agenda of the WB policy initiatives had been formally recognised and incorporated into the targets of the system.

The next phase of the argument was to ascertain what attitudinal changes were actually being achieved within Philippine education. There were three separate aspects to this. First, it was necessary to examine how research on attitudinal change had been conducted and what findings had been reported. This was to inform both methodology and content. Second, published attitudinal research in the Philippines had to be assessed. This would allow observations from the current study to be compared with earlier findings. Third, it was necessary to conduct primary research on the specific attitudes and values that were then associated with the experience of formal education. This had to be accomplished in a manner that allowed some comparison between the attitude sets of more and less educated individuals so that differences could be identified. It also demanded the use of a variety of research methods so that findings could be verified by triangulation.

The primary research had to be conducted in the Philippines, so it was essential that I develop a partnership with individuals and organisations in the country, both to assist with

the conduct of the research and to inform its direction. Since I had already worked with Dalie Garcia of Initiatives for International Dialogue (IID) on the dissertation project, I was able to prolong the relationship by employing her part-time for a year to provide in-country liaison. I met with members of the Department of Education Culture and Sports (DECS), with two people in particular offering advice on the focus of the study, Dr N Imperial, who was then working on education policy, and Dr C Rivera, who was head of the testing and evaluation department. Professor M Canieso-Doronila of the Education Department, University of the Philippines (UP) also played a crucial role. She had recently conducted a survey on functional literacy in rural areas and had previously carried out an evaluation of the WB textbook initiative, a programme which had produced over 20 million primary texts for use within the reformed curriculum. She kindly offered me the status of research assistant in her department, thereby providing me with access to an office, and thus an address which would add both status and credibility to my requests for assistance in the project. I would not have gained the access I did to many of the people and institutions surveyed without this UP identity or my contacts in DECS.

I consulted with Professor M Ibe, then Vice Chancellor of UP, Diliman, who shared the findings of her recent evaluation of the effectiveness of curriculum reforms in schools. I met with Professor R Simbulan and Dr E Villegas of Development Studies of UP Manila, with Dr M Diokno, Director of Development Studies Research within the Social Science department of UP Diliman, and with Dr T Tullao of the Economics Department in De La Salle University, all of whom contributed advice on the context and focus of the study. Dr A de Guzman of the Sociology Department of UP shared his research findings, both published and unpublished, from a survey of "first-jobbers" he had just completed. This gave an invaluable perspective on the relation between institutional quality and employment prospects. I also met NGOs with various perspectives on the educational reforms of the SAL period. Particularly important were the Alliance of Concerned

Teachers (ACT), Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC), the women's group, GABRIELA, Education Forum (EF), Ibon Databank and a number of other people's organisations.

A perspective which arose out of these contacts was the possibility that the previous work on educational quality could be married to an attitudinal survey. Throughout, Philippine education is characterised by differences in quality. Even in higher education my contacts explained how at least three clear sectors could be identified. Elite institutions, such as UP, Ateneo and De La Salle, were a mixture of state-funded and private institutions. A middle-quality layer comprised private universities, usually operated as foundations associated with a religious order or diocese, plus a number of lower prestige, state-funded colleges. A third layer of HE quality was identified in the entirely private mass education universities, mainly in and around Manila, where university courses were offered on a largely commercial basis. It was, therefore, consultation with interested parties in the Philippines that led to a research focus on individual attitudinal development associated with experience of different qualities and levels of education.

To establish whether exposure to education was responsible for any attitudinal changes observed, it was also necessary to examine if there were observable attitudinal differences between the more and less educated. This required the application of different methodologies, since the subjects of the research would have to be consulted individually. Finally, all of these findings had to be contrasted with previous findings on attitudinal development in the Philippines to see if there had been changes during the reform period.

A number of the individuals and organisations I consulted expressed particular interests. Some recurrent themes emerged, a selection of which were:

- concern about educational quality during the SAL period (FDC, Ibon, ACT)

- concern about the status, remuneration and rights of teachers under neo-liberal education policy (EF, ACT, Kilusang Mayo Uno, academics)
- belief that education fostered migration and that extended family ties facilitated it (academics and Fe Mangahas, Institute for Women's Studies)
- belief that participation in education led to the adoption of a migration mentality (ACT, Professor Doronila, Professor Simbulan, Dr Tullao)

Declining quality and threats to access as a result of higher fees led many of my contacts to suggest that Philippine education was in serious decline and, paradoxically, given the objectives of the reform programme, less attuned to promoting economic development within the country than it had been 20 years earlier.

Overall, thinking amongst left-wing or nationalist Filipinos tended to follow a pattern. It started with the recognition that education in the Philippines was not structured to meet the needs of the economy, but the needs of an elite, and that policy reform required that equity, access and quality should be addressed. The neo-liberal policies that were applied, however, led to increased inequality, reduced access and lower quality, because their real aim was to reduce costs to assist the structural adjustment process. With the country needing foreign currency to service its overseas debt and with the economy in decline, the only option was to encourage migration, thereby generating foreign currency remittances. This migration culture was being promoted by government and also by the attitudes and values being transmitted by education. In summary, this dependency perspective saw Philippine education serving an economic "centre", while the country remained "peripheral". Its prime goal was perceived as identifying and certificating those who might profit from a closer, perhaps neo-colonial relationship with the "centre", both economically through migration and ideologically via the adoption of particular attitudinal traits. These, they argued, were being actively promoted by exposure to formal education, and more forcefully so since the start of the reform programme.

Attitude and value formation in education, therefore, provided an area that could be examined and led to the formulation of the following research questions:

1. What role does education play in economic development and how does this relate to the policies followed by multilateral agencies in the 1970s and 1980s?
2. What attitudinal products would this model for education's role predict?
3. How might these theoretical attitudinal changes be relevant to the Philippines in the 1990s?
4. What attitudinal transformations were ascribed to education in the 1970s and how did these correspond to the goals set for education at the national policy level?
5. What were the attitudes and values currently espoused by educated Filipinos and how did these compare to those of the 1970s?
6. Does participation in education generate particular and identifiable attitudes and values?
7. Do different types of education engender different sets of attitudes and values?

Education, throughout, refers to formal education (Colletta and Holsinger 1982). This is not to decry or devalue the role that non-formal or life-long education plays in creating skills and attitudinal change, but merely recognises that most of the claims for education's role in development are made on behalf of formal education. No attempt was made in the current study to assess the role or importance of any other type.

1.3. Organisation of the thesis

After this introduction, Chapter Two presents a theoretical discussion of education's contribution to the process of economic development and the role played by attitudinal change. It begins by reviewing modernisation theory which, the study argues, continues to form the basis of formal education's perceived contribution to the development process,

especially via the inculcation of "modern" attitudes. Then attitudes and values associated with modernisation theory are identified and their potential contribution to economic development is described. The chapter also relates how researchers have attempted to measure aspects of overall and individual modernity, using this to provide pointers as to how such a study might be attempted in the Philippines in the 1990s. It identifies the attitude and value characteristics that the policy reforms would be expected to produce and how these might be manifest in the Philippines. The chapter then considers and describes the theoretical and policy paradigms which dominated thinking and action in education in the mid-1990s, policies which were followed in the Philippines throughout the period of structural reform in the education system. Once thus described, this dominant policy paradigm will be shown to be an extension of modernisation theory to the extent that the attitude and value elements within that policy are essentially the same. Some theoretical criticisms of education's role in development are then identified. Chapter Two thus addresses research questions one and two above, and also partly answers number three.

Chapter Three presents the Philippine context. It begins with a description of the origins and development of formal education in the Philippines, since this provides pointers to assist an appreciation of the system's overall characteristics. Next, Philippine education in the 1970s is described, with special reference to its perceived strengths and weaknesses, as described by practitioners and others closely associated with it, followed by a description of how the system was reformed during the 1980s. The next section reviews surveys and comments on prevailing attitudes and values that are found within Philippines society. Contrasts with the "modern" attitudes and values, as described in Chapter Two, are made. Then some aspects of migration are considered and how these might relate to educational experience. A conclusion then offers pointers for the current study, indicating those attitudes and values which seem likely to be promoted by formal education. It further considers the possibility that the type or quality of educational experience may further

influence attitude and value development. Perceptions of practitioners and others associated with the Philippine education system are drawn upon throughout the chapter, which addresses research questions three and four.

Chapter Four details the different approaches used in the study and justifies their use on methodological grounds. It describes how interested parties in the Philippines helped to identify an approach which would allow comparisons of attitude and value formation between the more and less educated and also between those experiencing different qualities of education. It continues by describing the strategy for conducting the research and then how a survey instrument was developed, piloted and delivered. The strategy for analysing the research data is then described. Details of how in-depth interviews were designed and conducted are presented, followed by a description of how a focus group discussion was organised. Data from the interviews and discussion assisted in the triangulation for reliability of the survey data. They also provided material to contrast prevalent attitudes and values amongst Filipinos who had less access to education than the survey group.

Chapter Five presents the results of the study. Data from the survey of students in higher education are summarised and analysed. Findings are related to issues arising from the theoretical discussion in Chapters Two and Three and observations are made on the attitudinal characteristics of the survey groups. Conclusions are made on whether the theoretically predicted modern attitudes are indeed manifest amongst students in Philippine higher education. In addition, the survey allowed for different layers in the highly stratified and marketised education system to be contrasted, thus indicating whether the attitudinal goals are achieved consistently across different quality levels of the Philippine system. It also affords an opportunity to identify whether there are education-specific effects by contrasting the survey data with that from in-depth interviews with Filipinos from a variety of social classes and who have significantly different experiences of education. The

attitude and value findings are also contrasted with those of earlier researchers. The chapter ends with a synthesis of the findings from the survey and interview data. Chapter Five thus addresses research questions five, six and seven.

Chapter Six reviews and interprets the findings of the study in relation to the research questions posed. The chapter then offers a conclusion indicating the significance of these findings.

Chapter Two

Formal education's role in national and economic development: a theoretical perspective

2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of education's theoretical role in economic development and modern industrialisation. It demonstrate that consideration of formal education's contribution to economic and social transformation has a long history and that the concept of human capital has always included a combination of skills and knowledge acquisition alongside attitudinal change. These elements coalesced in the modernisation theories of the Post-World War Two era, which effectively provided a summary of pre-existing claims made for education's role in societal change via individual attitudinal development. By juxtaposing these with later analyses of education's role, it is demonstrated that the dominant thinking of the 1980s and 1990s was essentially the same as that presented by the modernisation theorists, especially in attitude and value formation. The attitudinal transformations demanded by theory and educational reforms of the 1980s are identified, thus addressing research questions one, two and part of three.

Modernisation theories are considered first and the central role of education in assisting the modernisation process is identified. These theories require education not only to teach functional skills, but also to inculcate essential attitudes and values, without which none of the envisaged transformations would be sustained. Modernisation required change in several areas of national development, with, as will be seen, education contributing essential elements throughout. Political and cultural change is considered, followed by economic and social change. The consequences for education's specific contribution to attitude and value transformation are then examined in detail. By considering education's role within this framework, it will be shown that current thinking on attitudinal change still derives in large part from these theories. Finally, a summary identifies the attitudes and

values that would be likely to be held by individuals with different exposure to education, as predicted by modernisation.

The dominant theory of the 1980s and 1990s on education's contribution to economic development is considered next, and the policies that stem from this. The concept of human capital is examined, because this underpins the theory. This is followed by consideration of cost recovery, structural adjustment policies and educational quality, which are of relevance to the Philippines in the 1990s. Throughout this section, similarities between the dominant policy and modernisation theory are identified. Consequences for attitude formation are considered, given the likely deleterious effects of structural adjustment and the possibility that education might operate in a quite different way from that predicted by modernisation.

The next section considers a number of criticisms of both education's overall role in economic development and of the dominant policy in particular. These are cultural capital, queue theory, the dual economy and credentialism. They offer a different interpretation of how attitudes and values are created and transmitted by education and predict the likely inculcation of quite different attitudes and values, the possible existence of which are researched in this study. A conclusion then provides pointers indicating whether modernisation's predicted values or these alternative interpretations of education's role might apply in the Philippines.

2.2. Modernisation and the role of education

Modernisation[2] was the dominant theory of economic development during the immediate Post-World War Two era. It described how so-called traditional societies were to be transformed by a process of development into modern nation states. "Traditional" societies

[2] Modernisation has been usefully described and summarised by numerous authors, such as Toye (1987).

were seen as pre-industrial, non-literate and technologically simple, where economic life was conducted via small-scale transactions and dominated by smallholder or subsistence agriculture. Social status, political and religious authority were characterised by ascription, whereby existing status or birthright were the most important factors in determining access to positions of authority. Modern societies were seen as industrial, urban, literate, secular, technologically advanced and essentially meritocratic. The development process involved replacement of the traditional structures and practices with those derived from a modern, essentially Western society (Lerner 1958; Rostow 1971; Hayek 1979).

To be successful, indeed triumph, since modernisation was seen as a conflict between the old and the new (Rostow 1971), political, cultural, economic and social modernisation were required. Though the theory did not require these changes to be simultaneous, it envisaged that they would be, as a result of their mutually reinforcing nature. Societies would not achieve lasting transformation, however, until all four areas were modernised.

Political modernisation happened when societies developed political institutions, parties and practices supported by general democratisation. Cultural modernisation predicted greater secularisation of the society alongside a reduction in the power and influence of religion and traditional allegiances, including that of the family. The nature of religious activity need not change, but the theory predicted that its sphere of influence would be more limited and defined. Alongside this greater secularisation, modern societies would display an adherence to nationalist ideologies and identification with the nation state.

Economic modernisation anticipated the transformation of traditional, small-scale activity into modern, large-scale, industrial production. Where the traditional centred on production for subsistence, the modern was characterised by wage labour and production for the market. Commerce and trade would grow in both volume and penetration throughout the

economy and would be accompanied by changes in social relations. A division of labour would develop and employees would be required to master the use of technology in specialised roles. Industrial production and increased commerce would also generate a need for technical and managerial skills. Society at large would recognise the need to identify and train people to fulfil these roles on the basis of merit, rather than ascription. The key element in this social modernisation was formal education, since this was to inculcate the necessary skills and identify merit. Social modernisation, therefore, included increased literacy and the adoption of formal schooling as the means to accomplish this end (Colletta and Holsinger 1982).

According to modernisation's proponents, increased urbanisation would follow, which would further facilitate access to education (Adelman and Morris 1973). Qualifications representing the achievement of status and the acquisition of knowledge or skills would promote a merit culture, which would challenge traditional and religious authority and thereby lead to a decline in the importance of ascribed status (Bowles 1980). The first to benefit from economic transformation would be an educated elite group (Rostow 1971) with the resulting benefits trickling down to other groups in the form of increased earnings and opportunities, but it has been argued that this may never happen in some societies (Broad 1988). The entrepreneurial activity needed to start the process would arise out of an attitudinal shift created by exposure to education.

Modernisation, of course, is only one theory of development and one which generally ignores - even denies - power differentials and class conflict. It assumes that mobility can be achieved if its potential is created and that a dominant traditional elite will surrender power to an emergent modern group without contest. Reality often differs from this. It is, however, beyond the scope of this study to examine different development or political theories. The thesis remains that modernisation was the theory that underpinned thinking

on education's role in development during the Philippine reform period and demonstrates this. Furthermore, it then examines whether the attitudinal development outcomes, which formed part of the reforms, were in fact achieved.

Literacy was seen as the linchpin in modernisation (Maddison 1964; Webster 1984). Without it, none of the societal transformations could happen. Bureaucratic structures, implied by the creation of the envisaged hierarchical meritocracy, needed general literacy in order to operate. New practices, production techniques and working relationships had to be communicated and literacy was the key to achieving this. Furthermore, because the prime area of economic activity in traditional societies was agriculture, it was seen as essential that this sector of the economy should modernise as quickly as possible (Rostow 1971), thus undermining the viability and status of subsistence production (Jones 1985; Byers and Crow 1988; Schejtman 1992).

Formal schooling was desirable not only so that teaching and curricula might be standardised and centrally defined, but also to achieve the associated and required social, cultural and political transformations (Coombs 1985; Jansen 1991; Chung 1996). Literacy taught at home would not weaken ties or identification with the family or ascribed authority. It would not allow the standardisation of material or activities to ensure that all students learned a common language or a common perception of nationhood or citizenship. Neither could it introduce the young to the experience of operating within an essentially meritocratic bureaucracy - the school - or the concept of merit, itself, which is best understood when individuals within a group of peers are seen to receive differentiated rewards or recognition, mediated by a recognised authority.

Schools develop literacy above all else, but they also have numerous other essential roles. Industrialisation's reliance on technology requires training and skills development.

Through examination and certification, educational achievement identifies merit, thereby offering opportunities to operate within a particular skill or grouping within the division of labour. A school's social organisation teaches students the rules of the workplace and introduces them to a management hierarchy based on merit (Gintis 1971). A headteacher appointed on merit delegates authority to teachers, who are effectively middle managers of the students. Teachers' authority is perceived as linked to their higher knowledge and qualification status. Formal schooling at every educational level defines and legitimises merit in the form of achievement, which can only be conferred by those who themselves have attained appropriate merit of their own. Via different subject matter and varied qualifications, students are introduced to the concept of the division of labour, and become used to different employment roles and rewards (Levin 1987). Schools also play a crucial role in purveying national identity and a concept of citizenship to build allegiance with the nation state and its institutions. Through this role, at least potentially, schools are therefore also seen as a force for democratisation.

If this list of goals for formal schooling within modernisation were not already enough, there was also the assertion that education must produce modern people, with the correct set of modern attitudes and values. None of the above transformations would happen if people involved did not develop attitudes and values which would make them receptive to the anticipated change. Then, the theory argued, industrialisation and sustained economic growth in the form of increased gross domestic product would follow (Psacharopoulos and Woodall 1985). Without these changed attitudes and values, modern economic development was deemed impossible and the school and formal education, along with the mass media, were to play the prime role in creating these new values (Lerner 1958; McClelland 1953; Harrison 1988).

In the following sections, various aspects of education's role in this process are considered in more detail. The first section deals with its role in political and cultural development. The second looks at its contribution in the economic and social spheres. These two sections, therefore, cover the four areas where modernisation theory suggests education has a role to play. Crucially, however, not all of the material here derives from the early modernisers. Much of it is from later writers on education's role in development, though the modernisers' goals are still discernible. A third section identifies the attitudes and values which are thought to be created or fostered by formal education and without which the development process could not be sustained.

2.2.1. Political and cultural development

Modernisation theory required changes in the political and cultural characteristics of "traditional" societies. Formal education, as demonstrated in this section, has consistently been identified as having a crucial role in these areas, being viewed as capable of creating national unity and identity, as well as allegiance to government, with this often stated as an explicit goal for education (Murray Thomas 1992). The relationship between the state and education is shown to be a symbiotic one, however, with education seen as capable of stimulating political development and change as well as reaffirming and reinforcing existing structures. Involvement of the state in education is now a given, but in many societies - especially in the Third World - this relationship was only formalised after World War Two, when modernisation theories of development were paramount. Education's role in political development is here considered in three phases - early developers, colonial era and modern convergence. Throughout, it is demonstrated that education's perceived role in political and cultural change is closely aligned with that summarised in modernisation theory.

Education's role in the early developers[3] has been much debated. Some commentators maintain that education led the wider social and economic changes (Cipolla 1969; Stone quoted in Schultz TW 1982: 51), while for others it was a product of the greater prosperity and urbanisation (Simmons 1980; Blaug 1992; Ramirez and Boll-Bennett 1982)[4]. The relationship between the state and formal education changed fundamentally during the eighteenth century Enlightenment and then the industrial revolution (Fagerlind and Saha 1983). Before then, formal education was largely in the purview of religious authorities, was available to only a minority of the population and offered training for only a narrow range of skills or roles. After the industrial revolution, it was firmly in the state arena and was always associated with "modernisation", exemplifying progress, civilisation, secularisation and increased political democracy (Green 1990).

In the United States (US), for instance, where different regions developed education systems at different times, the overall nature of the system was more coherently planned at a national level than in most countries, with its stated role being the creation of national unity and identity[5]. In Japan, state education's role changed from the training of bureaucrats and state officials during the Tokugawa period (Kunio 1986) to skills development to assist the state-sponsored policy of modernisation, aimed primarily at promoting national economic transformation after the Meiji restoration (Furaya and Clarke 1993; Ogawa and Tyusa 1993a). In Prussia, there was compulsory school attendance by 1763 and a full national education system by 1830, providing compulsory education up to 14 years and a centralised curriculum. In fact, most Western European states had universal education by the mid-nineteenth century. England lagged, with compulsory school attendance introduced in the 1880s, and secondary schools not consolidated until 1902 (Landes 1969).

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[3] This term refers here to Western Europe, the US and Japan.
[4] Sen (1992)suggests that attainment of education and other entitlements is the *purpose* of development.
[5] This took the form of an Anglo-Protestant culture, according to Collins (1979).

Education synthesised collectivist and individualist forces in the concept of citizenship, a conjunction between the right to education and the duty to be educated (Fiala and Lanford 1987:316). It played a dual politico-cultural role, integrating the individual into the social structure and providing a means for individuals to carry out self-directed and personal development. Now states act as if "education were an inevitable system of socialisation, certification and legitimation, without which social life itself would not be possible"... "Educational institutionalisation has become an important mechanism everywhere for coping with the collective/individual dialectic" (Ramirez and Boll-Bennett 1982:17,18)[6]. Education has, thus, become the cement binding society and nation together by, paradoxically, placing individuals at identifiable and differentiated places within a social structure, creating unity by getting people to "know their place" (Clarke 1984). At the same time it creates dynamism by encouraging individual action, but only to the extent allowed or afforded by the individual's place within the structure. Education's main function, then, may be to identify its graduates' place within societal hierarchies and bureaucracies. Those in privileged positions are granted considerable freedom of action, whilst those at the base of the system are prepared for menial, low status roles (Weber 1964; Gintis 1971; Illych 1984).

If one of education's roles is the ascription of social status via merit, then education is also the state's arbiter of social mobility. It allows individuals – and perhaps groups – to achieve positions of advantage without the conflict that might arise if that advantage were secured by other means. It is the state's most powerful instrument for moulding the character of its people, with unity and consensus amongst its goals, via the mechanisms of increased equity and access, equality and participation, morality and merit, and ultimately mobility (Ekuban 1980:122). These benefits, however, can only be achieved through

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[6] Illych (1971) has been one of the few analysts to question the very nature of formal education.

particular educational policies, including wide access to primary and secondary education and a commitment to the needs of rural populations (Adelman and Morris 1973; Adelman 1992; Rostow 1992). Achievement of social mobility, however, is not solely education's purview, since it is also dependent on the adoption of appropriate economic policies in areas such as income distribution, equality of opportunity, technical innovation and market changes (Carnoy and Samoff 1990:67; Levin and Kelley 1994; Rozenzweig 1995).

Education's three main functions in political development have thus been summarised as:

- "a main agent for the political socialisation of the young into the national political culture
- a primary agent for the selection and training of political elites
- the main contributor to political integration and the building of national political consensus" (Fagerlind and Saha 1983:20)

National education systems are by definition part of national political culture and merely by participating in education young people are socialised into that culture. But modernisation predicts that it will do more than this. By conferring merit through the development of skills and aptitudes in areas where those with "traditional" authority cannot compete, education raised the individual's social status. "Traditional" power becomes marginalised as this "modern" sector grows, to become economically and, therefore, politically the driving force in the society. Modernisation's cultural and political goals are, thus, crucially dependent on education's ability to promote upward social mobility, though not necessarily within existing social structures. In the modern sector, individuals compete for status and influence, with the educated more likely to succeed.

But the political or the social elite may reproduce its status by means other than educational achievement. Pre-existing power, influence or wealth may be the determining factors, for instance, factors which may enhance access to educational advantage. But it is

increasingly the case that educational achievement is used at least to legitimise access to higher social status and, if mobility is also an effect of education, it remains possible that those without power, influence or wealth might join the group (Galbraith 1979). It was this mechanism that modernisers postulated would undermine traditional authority via the social mobility of urban, educated, rational individuals (Rostow 1971; Adelman and Morris 1973). Their ambitions would be realised via achievement of status, acquired by participation in a growing modern economic sector. As this sector grew, so would the power of a new elite. The traditional elite, unable to compete in the modern sector because of lack of requisite skills, would find its power diminished. They would not be removed from power by revolution, for modernisation was an evolutionary and anti-class struggle ideology. It did recognise that there had to be an agent for change - Rostow's social overhead capital or Lerner's transitionals - but it was the theory's assertion that once started modernisation could not be halted that predicted the waning of traditional authority.

The role of elites is thus central to the process of modernisation and the current study considers this role from four possible theoretical standpoints. The following sections argue that modernisation, itself, conceptualised "traditional" elites as Pareto-like, whilst the "modern" group emerged by virtue of Parsonian pluralism. Understanding of the elite's role in Philippine society, on the other hand, can also be interpreted in Marxist terms or, alternatively, but to the same effect, via Mann's Four Networks theory, which considers the inter-relationship between ideological, economic, military and political power (Mann 1986, 1993).

Modernisation viewed traditional power being held by a Pareto (1991) elite which, though it competed for power and influence within its own ranks, was largely impervious to influences from the masses, thus blocking change which might threaten its position. Since traditional society was characterised by smallholder agriculture, peasants relied on land for

their livelihood. Landlords held power because they controlled access to that livelihood. Highly unequal ownership of land still characterises Filipino society and it has been this control of land that has determined access to economic and political power (Abuevo 1976; Canlas et al 1988; Putzel and Cunnington 1989; Putzel 1992).

Modernisation's model was couched in Parson's pluralist schema (Parsons and Shils 1951), where society was viewed as mutually dependent parts, each of which contributed to the functioning of the whole system. Individuals occupied a place on a linear scale between ascription and achievement, their position determined by opposed effects of kinship and occupation. What traditional societies lacked was motivation for achievement and opportunity for employment. Psychological changes via education and the mass media were to overcome the former and the development of a modern economic sector the latter. The theory was thus the antithesis of Marx's concept of class struggle. The modern would evolve into the new elite not by revolution, but by force of numbers, rationality and technological superiority.

The mechanism by which modernity came to its predominant status was via pluralism, which in the 1950s was widely assumed to operate in US society. Crucially, this was not seen as ethnocentrism. Lerner (1958), for instance, regards the fact that American values dominated modernisation merely as historical accident. It was the positivism and the underpinning by rationality, science and technology, which in his analysis made modernisation inevitable. Though it began in Europe and came to fruition in the US, it could and certainly would happen anywhere and everywhere because its scientific foundation was universal. Identification in the US, itself, of power elites (Mills 1956) and ascription mechanisms of power access (Hunter 1953) did not undermine continued assumptions of pluralism, since these theories remained marginalised for some time.

It will be shown in Chapter Three that participation in higher education in the Philippines has always been a means of confirming or attaining elite status. If the perception of education is that it primarily confers elite status, then it can be assumed that the system effectively perpetuated the dominance of a Pareto-like elite, which modernisation theory would label "traditional". This perception would necessarily imply an associated scepticism about the possibility of social mobility. If, however, participants in education believe it has the capability of facilitating social mobility, then it may indicate that Parsonian views of pluralism, i.e. "modern" values, are promoted by the system.

Whilst modernisation was underpinned by pluralism in the US, it was perhaps considerations of Marxism that rendered the Philippines a prime target for the modernisers' attention. In Marxist theory a ruling class is in a state of struggle with the proletariat. Its aim is to maintain economic power and it achieves this by monopolising the political, military and ideological apparatus of society[7]. An elite can operate as an oligarchy which restricts change in economic relations precisely by its domination of politics at every level, as has been suggested is the case in the Philippines. The military becomes politicised and because continued economic status is dependent on continued access to land, political power is the key that ensures continued elite status, since it can be used to block land reform, suppress dissent and, crucially in the Philippines, manage intra-elite rivalry via cronyism (Broad 1988; Goodno 1991; Wurfel 1988). Left-wing opposition to the elite's status has generated a significant communist movement in the Philippines and it was perhaps the continued existence of internal conflict that attracted multilateral aid donors to the country (Kerkvliet 1977; Chapman 1987). For global strategic reasons, it was important to keep pro-Western, pro-capitalist leaders in power from 1950 to the early

[7] See http://sociology.usc.edu/whorulesamerica/teory/ for summaries of Mann's Four Networks Theory by Michael Domhoff. Though this theory is non-Marxist, I have used its framework here to show that power structures in the Philippines fit either model, with ideology in the Philippines represented by the Roman Catholic Church, which, itself, had a history of land-owner status during the friar estates (Constantino 1977, 1978)

1990s, and much of the foreign finance entering the Philippines did no more than ensure the continued power of an elite grouping sympathetic to US strategic interests (Taylor 1985). Continued US support for the ruling group was guaranteed, unless the reliability of the incumbent came into question. This happened with Ferdinand Marcos in 1986, after several years of martial law had already been tolerated, even condoned, since the major expansion of foreign support for the Philippine economy happened in this period. The US tolerated intra-elite competition for office and influence and - as will be seen in Chapter Three - continued its policy of allowing the elite to manage internal issues in its own way, thus blocking land reform and perhaps thereby ensuring the continued relative lack of development in the country as a whole (Williamson 1993). Thus, if modernisation required Parsonian pluralism to achieve its anti-Communist ends, the reality of US policy towards its former colony ensured that it would never be achieved.

Education's potential for transformation, however, is not reliant on pluralism. Even in states undergoing social change through revolution or other socialist transformation, education has been ascribed the role of effecting essentially the same social transformations, through a combination of its potential for enculturation, political integration and social mobility[8]. Carnoy and Samoff (1990), for instance, see education as a prime element in the political process by which the state competes with the forces aimed at reproducing the older order and it does this by explicitly promoting greater equality of political power (Jansen 1991:78). In essence, and from a very different political standpoint, this is little more than a re-statement of the modernisers' belief that education has the power to undermine and replace traditional authority[9].

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[8] See also Foster (1982) and Saith (1991).

[9] For accounts of roles envisaged for education in states undergoing socialist transition, see Arnove and Dewees (1991) on Nicaragua , Jansen (1991) on Zimbabwe, Carnoy and Samoff (1990) on China and Cuba and on Tanzania, where they specifically refer to education as still "organised around modernization assumptions and criteria"

There are, however, examples of attempts to effect explicit social, cultural or political change through education resulting in no more than a reproduction of the pre-existing systems or relations (Arnove et al 1982; Bacha 1981). It is possible that strong state structures, such as education, may in effect defend the interests of a particular group, such as a set of producers in the economy or of a particular class (Wallerstein 1980). Formal education, then, might also be capable of blocking political change, or undermining policies aimed at promoting change (Myrdal 1971).

This point is a particular concern in Third World societies where education systems almost always include explicit political, nationalist or cultural goals, with the concept of citizenship as a blend of individual and state interests predominating. Alongside this, other goals include national development, loyalty and patriotism, world citizenship, political and economic ideology, democracy and religion, individual and vocational development, equality of opportunity and elite training (Fiala and Lanford 1987; Murray Thomas 1992).

When a Third World society has no unifying national language or it is that of the former colonial power, formal education may not be effective in creating political or societal unity (Adelman 1973:42). Equally, where the institutions of the state are perceived as weak or ineffective, the potential for education to deliver goals of national or political unity are similarly reduced. A central state, however, may be weak as a result of highly differentiated or indeed competing ideological, regional, ethnic or political interests. In such circumstances, the state's education system may represent a particular political or cultural interest group and effectively become the mechanism that confers membership of that group.

Overall, education's goal in modernisation is to develop citizens who appreciate the potential for individual action within the structures and laws required to perpetuate the state and ensure that conflict between individuals does not arise. State involvement in

education in the Third World, however, is a relatively recent phenomenon, with the educational expansion of the 1950s and 1960s often emulating those of the early developers or expanding on that inherited from the colonial power (Watson 1982, 1984, 1984a, Frank 1992). Education became, however, a foundation for the authority of the state, without which these new nations could not operate as modern states (Rowley 1971). The promotion of nationalism began with the mission schools (Watson 1982b) and it is likely that the concept of national identity that was promulgated was somewhat different from that which was desired by a post-independence government. Such circumstances provided opportunities for competing ideologies to create the kind of weakness or particularism in the central state described earlier. Hence definition of nationalism, especially in South East Asia, became a vital element in the role of education in development (Watson 1984).

As a result of continuing external influence in the education systems of many Third World states, the political and cultural ideologies promoted may be ambiguous. For example, colonial schooling symbolised many things besides a work ethic and capitalist social relations at work, including Christianity, white supremacy, individuality, merit and language (Carnoy and Samoff 1990). In many Third World societies, association with such ideas was not only alien to existing political or cultural mores, it was perhaps even threatening to them. It thereby achieved what the modernisers deemed essential, in that it had the potential to undermine traditional or ascribed authority, ensuring that those enculturated into the changed ways of thinking might ally with political and cultural identities other than their own. This has led to education systems and the educated in the Third World sometimes being labelled as neo-colonial, interested in perpetuating external interests above those of their own society and determined to restrict access to elite status to a select group of like-minded people (Altbach 1982; Mazrui 1975; Brown 1995).

As in other areas where education is seen to have capacity to promote change, in national, political and cultural development it is often seen as a panacea. The South Commission (1990:133), for instance, saw education as a "principal mechanism for the transmission and perpetuation of culture". Access to education was, therefore, defined as a crucial component of the right to culture, but, to serve development, it must reflect the country's national ethos and not cause alienation. They called for the needs of the poor to be paramount and a reduction in the benefits accruing to upper income groups, whilst respecting traditional forms of knowledge (South Commission 1990). Here education will transform society, preserve culture, uphold an ethos, respect tradition and redistribute access to education and therefore opportunity all at the same time.

Fuller et al (1986:18) actually claim that economic benefits, or externalities can accrue from education's politico-cultural effects at the institutional or regional level. They stress, however, that education's role in institution building, regional and national consciousness formation and integration into social roles may be more important at early stages of economic development. Then, as development proceeds, "narrow nationalistic thinking in education is no longer adequate", since future survival is dependent on access to cultural understanding and preparedness to change (Porter 1984:19), so education must adapt and change.

Despite this need for flexibility, there is growing evidence of convergence, the tendency for educational systems everywhere to become ever more alike. Systems increasingly appear to have similar goals, share similar organisational or structural characteristics and offer similar curricula (Bonal 2002; Dale 2000). Common explanations of this convergence include assertions that it is the demands of economic development that determine the nature of education systems and that this development is essentially the same process, at least structurally, wherever it occurs (Harris 1989). The striking similarity between

education systems which has emerged during the last 50 years suggests, for some, a trans-national social structure, with nation states as sub-units, making autonomous development impossible (Ramirez and Boll-Bennett 1982:15; Sernau 1996). Global systems pertain, especially in education (Debauvais 1980:22; Wiarda 1992:69) and most of all in educational bureaucracies (Fernig 1980:12). Though economies may develop different characteristics because of the different niches they may occupy within the global economy (Arnove 1980:454), industrialisation and urbanisation are perhaps universal and it is these which drive the convergence of educational systems (Parsons 1964; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Huntley 1980; Weis 1982; Harris 1989; Baker and Hoilsinger 1996).

From a survey of national development plans, Murray Thomas (1992:20) produced a taxonomy of common learning outcomes, which underpin education systems worldwide. It showed a great similarity of goals for education, including skills, knowledge and individual development. It is education's role to promote national unity and allegiance to the state, cultural identity and appropriate attitudes and values. The universal goal of human resource development confirms education's functionalist role. For some, however, education is *primarily* preparation for the workplace, thus explaining convergence as an effect of industrialisation, a society-wide, even world-wide process of economic change (Bowles and Gintis 1976; Weis 1982:488; Harris 1989:11).

Within industrialisation, the development of bureaucracy and modern organisation may have promoted a specifically Western model (Schultz 1993), where technical knowledge is indispensable to the production process and, therefore, to the bureaucratic structures which manage it (Meier 1984:179). Equally universal were assessments of “backwardness” for societies which did not follow this pattern illustrating how "traditional versus modern" can be applied wherever modernisers require it. Indeed, in its manifestation as "reflexive modernity", any site of change in societal re-invention contrasts the desired, or changed

position with rejected, outmoded or dysfunctional practices. Again this is not new, as was indicated in Chapter One. Modernity always was a relative concept, associated with the idea of progress, which was on-going.

Despite convergence, there may actually be great disparities between systems when what is actually taught is considered. Curricula are inconsistently applied, resources and local conditions differ and so education as actually experienced by the student is highly varied across systems (Bonal 2003; Rodrik 1996). Attempts to overcome these differences via curriculum reform have been largely ineffective (Weis 1982; Lockheed and Bloch 1990:14-17,45).

Convergence of education policy amongst aid donors and agencies emerged during the 1970s and 1980s (Graham-Brown 1991:286). King (1991, 1992) cites the position of the World Bank in educational research and aid as dominant, with its policy prescriptions applied universally[10]. Heyneman and White (1986) suggest that the convergence will continue, with OECD and developing countries increasingly adopting similar policies, thus reducing cultural specificity of education systems and rendering education policy an international issue. Convergence may therefore not only be a response to universally similar changes: it may be a consequence of deliberate policy. This is the "dominant policy" that will be discussed later in this chapter.

This section has demonstrated that the politico-cultural goals of education have been explicit since the early growth of state systems and have continued throughout the expansion of education in the Third World during the 1950s and 1960s, when modernisation theory was dominant. It has also suggested that these goals are still shared by the education systems of many countries and are represented in the current dominant

[10] See also Helleiner (1986)

education policy. In reality, variations in educational quality and restrictions on access may undermine education's ability to deliver these goals, which, it must be stressed, have also changed as societies have changed. It is central to this thesis, however, that the changes are seen at the level of priority within the same paradigm, that of modernisation.

2.2.2. Economic and social effects

This section considers education's role in economic development and associated changes in social relations. After identifying the key role of general literacy in initiating change, the concept of human capital is discussed, followed by considerations of how formal education can generate it in many and varied forms without ever being able to predict exactly how it might be utilised in the economy. Human capital is then linked to the concept of social mobility, the crucial link with education's role in modernisation theory. The contribution of education to economic development is demonstrated as best understood in functionalist terms, with human capital becoming a form of investment and taking its place alongside other factors of capitalist production. Thus, formal education itself becomes an inherent part of capitalist development, or modernisation.

Modernisation's main claim for education is that it develops the individual first with effects at the societal level arising as a result. Literacy opens up the possibility of acquiring knowledge and developing skills. These are in demand within the modern sector of the economy, and thereby create opportunities for individuals to participate in wage labour. In the primary sector of the economy, the new skills and knowledge allow smallholder farmers to use new techniques, which can transform smallholder subsistence agriculture into production for the cash economy. The technological base of the economy is thus raised and this eventually leads to larger production units and greater participation in the market economy.

This potential for change may lead to economic growth in the form of increased Gross Domestic Product (GDP)[11]. The link does not seem to be a causative one, however, since increased education appears to be a necessary part of the economic development process without ever being sufficient (Simmons 1980; Lewin et al 1982; King 1991). The availability of modern sector skills does not in itself appear to stimulate the growth of a modern economic sector, but an existing modern sector can have its growth curtailed by a lack of skills (Shapiro and Taylor 1992; Fairclough 1994; Yatsko 1994). Such skills, therefore, provide the *potential* for economic development via increased GDP through the growth of a modern sector[12].

The consequences of growth in these modern sectors of the economy are many. Production systems in the modern economy are larger scale than in smallholder agriculture, promoting urbanisation and still greater literacy. Large-scale production requires technology, promoting its spread throughout the economy, creating demands for more specialised skills and thereby creating more opportunities to develop these skills (Wilkinson 1973; Fransman 1986). Education helps people to adapt to change and thereby fulfil new roles that the modern economy demands (Rostow 1971).

Urbanisation has a number of further consequences. Tertiary economic sectors grow in response to urbanisation to provide the services and infrastructure that urban centres need to operate. This generates more opportunity for employment and creates demands for further new skills. In an urban setting, education itself changes. Larger educational institutions become viable and with that the range of knowledge and skills that can be taught increases. With a reduction in the importance of family labour, there is both a

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[11] UNDP (1991) attributed GDP growth in Asia to high levels of health and education; Psacharopoulos (1984) attributed 10.5% of GDP growth in the Philippines in 1972-3 to education; but Benavot (1992) and Fields (1992) find only a weak link between education and growth. Also, Psacharopoulos and Kiong Hock Lee (1979) illustrate the difficulty of linking education and growth by asserting that even school enrolment figures can only be used with extreme caution.

[12] Ogawa et al (1993) state that education investment was cause of growth of GDP in Pacific rim countries.

greater opportunity for children to attend school and, in the urban environment, a greater likelihood that school places will be available.

Urbanisation assists the provision of water and electricity supplies and the availability of health care promotes an improvement in general health, increasing life expectancy. Longer lives allow people to use their skills for longer periods, to develop new skills and learn by experience. This increases their earning potential further and thereby amplifies all of the changes promoted by education.

Social transformations accompany this economic transformation. The generally increased demand for both waged and skilled labour results in more opportunities for women, challenging the sexual division of labour modernisation identifies with traditional society. Since women entering the modern sector must gain the requisite skills, they must be educated and so marry later and have fewer children (Shields 1987). Participation in education by women, therefore, is seen to be a contributor to lower fertility (Schiefelbein 1980; Clignet 1980; Todaro 1980; Subbaro and Raney 1995) and therefore lower population growth.

Industrialisation leads to greater productivity. Application of technology generates both greater quantity and quality of output and, as people participate in the growing industrial or modern sectors in ever more specialised roles, the general level of earnings in the society increases. If most people have access to education and therefore a means of developing skills, then education becomes a force for greater equality, since more people have access to every level of the modern sector. This equality can only be possible with greater access to education in general (Schultz 1993) and it starts with access to primary education, since the education process is a cumulative one. No increase in provision at the secondary or tertiary levels of education can claim to provide greater access if access to primary

education is limited, since literacy is the key. Once primary education access targets have been achieved, and once the industrial, urban and modern transformation is begun, however, the associated increased demand for more specialised and sophisticated skills requires the expansion of the higher levels of education. The description of the role of primary education and literacy within modernisation is therefore entirely analogous to Rostow's (1971) concept of social overhead capital and indeed literacy has regularly been linked to the concept of 'take-off'.

A link between literacy and increased GDP, however, has never been fully established. There are examples of highly literate societies, such as Kerala, where associated industrial economic development has not happened, perhaps because literacy was seen as a goal in itself and was achieved through a variety of methods, with formal schooling being only one of them. In such circumstances, the other effects of formal education, especially the politico-cultural and attitude and value formation would be absent (Sen 1991).

Dillard (1992) maintains that an inability to create sufficient social overhead capital held back the early developers and is the reason why state involvement in education became an imperative. In early development innovation may have arisen through modified practice, minor changes to rules of thumb, or indeed by accident. In a world where technology is widely used, however, they can only come about through research or insight by people with the necessary training and knowledge (Low et al 1991; Schultz 1993). Later developers, therefore, must establish education at all levels as quickly as possible, since higher education plays a central role in providing graduates with this technological training and knowledge, assuming that the quality of education offered is good (Harbison 1967). Though the mechanisms may be similar, the process of modern economic development may therefore change in different eras of development (Lall 1986; Bienfelt 1991; Webster 1984).

To achieve literacy students need at least five years of primary schooling and poor educational quality inhibits its attainment (Lockheed and Verspoor 1991), but once the pre-requisite of literacy is achieved, schooling allows the individual to acquire specific knowledge or skills which can be applied to real life tasks. Throughout the growing economy there is a need for skilled and trained people to ensure that these technologies and administrative structures can operate. It is the role of formal education beyond the primary school to teach these skills and thereby satisfy the nation's employment needs (Durkheim 1984; Coombs 1985; South 1990).

To achieve these ends, educational institutions must be in touch with society's employment needs and opportunities. Curricula must be diversified and kept up to date with recent developments or innovations[13]. This requires secondary and tertiary education to be quite differentiated sectors, offering a multitude of different courses at different levels. This can only be achieved effectively in quite large and high cost institutions, which are only viable in urban areas, which may lead to an urban bias rendering effective secondary and tertiary education beyond the resources of many poorer societies and individuals (Bude 1984).

In its most extreme form, this functionalist thinking spawned the manpower planning approach to education, whereby governments attempted to predict the precise numbers of people required in each employment sector, and then tried to allocate resources to formal education to ensure the right number of graduates. The approach was a near universal failure, partly because needs change during the time it takes to train a graduate. The main reason for its failure, however, was the rather weak link between the intended employment niche served by particular training and the eventual employment actually undertaken by the graduate (Blaug 1992; Foster 1987). This has led many commentators to reject

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[13] Psacharopoulos (1991) doubts that education systems can achieve this on grounds of cost.

functionalist thinking on skills training and employment opportunity. They argue that this weak link between what is learned and the role eventually played by the graduate in the economy proves that it is education's selection and certification function which gives access to employment (Foster 1987). Furthermore, if these education systems also favour the urban resident and the wealthier student, then education may only be a way of legitimising status which has already been ascribed (Bock 1982; Boulding 1992; Higgins 1992; Marquez 1980), thereby undermining one of modernisation's aims. This is especially likely if access to education is limited (Solomon 1987; Kanyike 1977:95; Weiler 1984:126; Foster 1987). Furthermore, Bude (1984) asserts that it matters where you were educated, since education systems themselves are differentiated (Farrell; 1982; Nagai 1976). This might also increase imbalances in income distribution, preventing meritocracies from developing, especially if the selection mechanisms for inclusion in the elite group happen at the secondary level or earlier (Ghosh 1979; Mingat and Tan 1986). In a study of five countries including the Philippines, Fields (1982:64), found that education was not in itself a promoter of social mobility, since there was differentiation according to quality within the education system[14]. Educational results correlated closer with Gross National Product (GNP) figures than income distribution, indicating that educational progress only happened when countries could afford to fund improved systems.

The functionalist argument, however, makes two points to answer these criticisms. First, there remains an identifiable link between what students study and what they do in employment. Secondly, functionalists argue that there are externalities, benefits accruing from formal education, that cannot be exactly quantified, such as changed attitudes and values and improved decision-making skills which render the more educated more efficient and effective in almost any role (Solomon 1986:7). Employers recognise this and seek to

[14] The quality of education received is a strong indicator of future earnings (Solomon 1987a).

employ the educated applicant. This leads to a concept called elasticity of substitution[15], which measures the degree to which a given occupation requires specific or general training. Modern industrialised economies change rapidly and generate needs for new roles and skills before formal education can adapt to provide specific training for them (McMahon 1987). Many roles in modern economies require general skills, i.e. they are substitution elastic. Employers appreciate the generally higher skill and capability levels of the educated, functionalists argue, and so are willing to recruit the educated into these new or general positions, despite their training not being wholly relevant, and despite the fact that they are more expensive. Education thus becomes a form of investment.

The idea that knowledge and skills are a form of capital is not new. Adam Smith (quoted in Sen 1986:29) and Marx (Simon 1985; Marx 1976:483,613,628) both acknowledged that human capabilities or population quality could contribute to increased economic activity. It was the mid-20th century, however, that saw the first attempts to quantify the contribution to growth that each of the various factors of production might make[16]. Denison's work (1962) confirmed that after effects from capital and labour were quantified, there remained a large "residual", a portion of economic growth unattributable to other inputs (Psacharopoulos and Woodall 1985:27). He proposed that this arose as a result of improvements in the capabilities and productivity of human beings, or an increase in the stock of human capital, brought about primarily by participation in formal education and training, an assumption which has been criticised. (Blaug 1992b:XII). Though subsequent work led to a significant reduction in the size of the estimated residual (Hicks 1987:101), there remained a sizeable part of recorded growth attributed to increases in human capital[17]. In later work, Schultz (1982, 1987) developed the idea further, suggesting that societies could create a stock of human capital by widening and deepening access to

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[15] See Psacharopoulos et al 1985, pp84-6 for a description of this concept
[16] As early as 1951 the UN called for an increase human capital as well as physical. (Martin 1991).
[17] See Psacharopoulos (1984) and Arcelo (1982) for estimates education's contribution to GDP growth in the Philippines.

education, thus aligning the human capital concept firmly alongside Rostow's social overhead capital. Education, which until then had been viewed largely as consumption (Lewis 1985), thus became an investment and one which often could be more profitable than other forms of investment, such as physical capital.

Human capital formation, for Mincer (1989), is the key to mobility, which can only be achieved through economic expansion. In a growing economy, with demand for skilled employees high, processes which might work against increased mobility, such as selection via ascribed status, are unsustainable (Rosenstein 1985; Chiswick and Chiswick 1987). This also suggests the corollary that where there is educated unemployment, such as in the Third World (Carnoy 1980; Hinchcliffe 1987) then characteristics other than qualifications or "merit" may be more influential in hiring decisions. Evidence from labour market surveys suggests that policies to promote labour market flexibility and mobility do assist development (Psacharopoulos and Woodall 1985:95).

If education does indeed promote greater mobility and thereby equality, these effects ought to be observable in developed societies. In the US, however, since the mid-nineteenth century education has had no effect in increasing opportunities for social mobility, with no associated shift from 'ascription' to 'achievement'. Correlations between occupations of fathers and sons have been found to be independent of the size of the education system, apparently refuting functionalist thinking that greater opportunity and access would create conditions for greater mobility (Collins 1979:182). But in some societies the position is seen rather differently. In Korea, for instance, education and qualification cut across class boundaries and are now the main method by which a person's economic level and status are determined (Sorensen 1994; Pomfret 1992).

Notwithstanding these mixed views on education's ability to promote mobility, it is still often cited as the key to social change and social betterment (Huse 1980; Low et al 1991; World Bank 1999). Educational credentials and technical knowledge are cited as the main criteria for upward mobility (Portes and Walton 1981:176), with occupational status often being only weakly linked to social class (Foster 1987:96). Whilst the possession of qualifications and skills do not necessarily bring about mobility, only those with qualifications, it seems, can be mobile. Conversely, less educated skilled labour or non-professional people have seen a deterioration in their mobility, thus confirming that educational credentials are becoming more important as a condition for mobility (Standing 1992).

The ability or inability to facilitate or stimulate social mobility is a crucial factor in education's contribution to modernisation. Mobility is linked to merit, which is conferred by education and this undermines traditional authority (Warren 1980:114,135). Merit is awarded on the basis of employability and productivity within the modern economy, both of which are influenced by education through qualification and skill acquisition. One would assume that if these effects were real, then people involved in education would be aware of them (Schultz 1993) and that they would form a significant element in people's motivation to participate in the education process.

2.2.3. Attitude and value transformation

If societies were to change, as described in the previous two sections, then, according to mainstream modernisation theory, the people involved must want it. They themselves have to be changed by it, or the process would not be self-sustaining (Lerner 1958; Rostow 1971). This led many researchers from the 1950s to the 1970s to postulate a psychological basis for modernisation, an attitude of mind that would foster the transformation. This entailed the identification of attitudes, values and propensities which in theory were

associated with the changes that modernisation required and that would sustain and magnify the changes once they were held by a sufficient proportion of the population. Having identified that modern attitudes and values were different from traditional ones, the theory required an agent of change and formal education alongside the mass media were suggested (Lerner 1958; McClelland 1953; Kahl 1968). Authors on the role of education in economic development have continued to define the nature of attitudinal change which participation in education fosters and the dominant policy paradigm of the 1980s still referred to education's role in creating attitudinal modernity as crucial. The list of potential attitudinal changes promoted by education has grown considerably, but an analysis of the literature reveals that the more recent claims are essentially the same as those claimed by the modernisation theorists of the 1950s and 60s.

Throughout this section, the views of writers associated with modernisation are juxtaposed with those of more recent commentators, since the current study seeks to establish their similarity and not undertake a critical analysis of the theory, itself. As a starting point, however, a brief summary of some important works on individual modernity is presented. Perceived attitudinal goals for education are then considered from various sources through to the 1990s. A concordance between these and the theoretical requirements of modernisation is revealed.

McClelland (1953) defined a need for achievement which motivated people to seek personal and economic advancement. Once people embarked on this process, they became less influenced by religion, more universal in outlook, more materialistic and less impulsive. They understood and respected contractual ties, operated co-operatively, responded to peer pressure and respected status achieved on merit. They accepted the need for forward planning and could assess the likely success of rational action, believing that this, via application of science and technology, could change their environment.

Lerner (1958) defined a similar personality trait, psychic mobility. A key transformation in his analysis was the development of empathy, an ability to understand other peoples' opinions and concerns and thereby conceive of oneself occupying new or changed roles. Modernisation thus required this psychological change in the individual, which happened alongside other changes at the societal level. These operated along a scale with urbanisation being the starting point and led to the spread of literacy. This then promoted mass media, economic and political participation in that order, with industrialisation increasing throughout. To become modern, the individual had to adopt new roles and behaviour, and the development of an "empathic capacity", really a willingness to change and a realisation of how to achieve change, was the fundamental attitudinal development required. In essence, this is the growth of individuality and recognition of the possibility of individual action.

In 1968 Kahl conducted a study on modernity in Brazil and Mexico and assessed individuals on their activism[18], preference for urban living, individualism, perception of social stratification, mass media participation and perception of life chances. He found urban dwellers more modern in their attitudes, believing their own social mobility to be attainable. Smith and Inkeles (1966) and Inkeles and Smith (1974) developed scales for individual and overall modernity. For them, modern people are willing to change, form opinions and be rewarded on merit. They respect others and accept that science and technology can advantageously change the environment. Modern people plan and are orientated to the present and future, not the past. They are interested in public issues, want higher levels of education for their children, respect achieved qualifications and accept these as a basis for reward. They empathise with other people and participate in the mass

[18] Essentially this is a psychological trait indicating a willingness to change.

media. They approve of smaller families and are secular rather than religious in their opinions.

An elite group sympathetic to change was crucial to start Rostow's (1971) staged modernisation by industrialisation. Their creation was to be established in the pre-conditions for take-off and their subsequent activity would stimulate that take-off. Essential traits amongst this group were a preparedness to be educated, change, work in specialised roles within bureaucratic structures and be managed by others appointed on merit. Again an acceptance of the positive role of science and technology was required, which prompted a rationality to facilitate decision making and an ability to assess risk. During the drive to maturity, more people would become modern until, in the age of mass consumption, the processes of production, innovation, education and change would be self-sustaining.

In 1971 Myrdal invoked rationality and the development of national consciousness as products of education, which itself was an essential element in economic development. Education would stimulate rising standards of living via social mobility. It would create improved institutions, political democracy and social discipline. It would promote the adoption of values derived from rational thought and an identification of an individual's ambition with that of the nation. Education would be viewed as essential and would thus confer merit and mobility. He described modernisation as nothing less than a nostrum in development, but did recognise that education and its benefits could be monopolised by a minority for its own preservation, to the detriment of development. Access, therefore, was a crucial issue.

These summaries identify modernisation as highly positivist. Rationally applied science can transform the lives of less developed peoples and raise them from traditional to

modern, from rural to urban, from illiterate to literate, from subsistence to waged employment and from poor to rich. It was the promotion of an essentially Weberian Protestant ethic at the national, political and cultural level and the application of functionalism in the economic and social spheres. It was a capitalist, anti-Communist model (Rostow 1971) designed to promote a Western style of development, an advertiser's view of the American dream and can be criticised in many ways. It represents an ethnocentric, perhaps colonial approach, taking no account of the complexity of cultures[19], recognising only the formulaic characteristics of a disputed endpoint and assumes wholly positivistic results from the application of science and technology. It posits tradition and modernity as opposite ends of a scale without showing that they necessarily conflict. It never questions or even justifies the assumption that specific values and attitudes give rise to a fixed set of social and economic results and that these can be taught explicitly (Sheffler 1985). Neither does it admit that other factors might be responsible for different levels of development (Portes and Walton 1981). But having listed these criticisms, the current study argues that this theory underpinned thinking on education's perceived role in economic development through to the 1990s. It is also one manifestation of the more recent concept of globalisation, where, having achieved an adequate level of modernity and thereby taken off, nations or sub-sets of nations are integrated into the modern economy, now seen as a global enterprise[20].

In this paradigm, perhaps the most fundamental shift in the individual's value structure is in relation to education itself. If economic transformation needs changed values and if these changes are stimulated by education, then clearly there is no potential for any change until the individual receives that education. The first attitudinal shift, then, is the recognition of the necessity to participate in formal education in an institutional setting. Though there

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[19] Indeed, Schultz (1993) takes education's cultural effects for granted.
[20] According to Giddens globalisation is reflexive modernisation. See http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/static/events/reith_99/ for a summary which restates modernisation in 1990s terms.

have been attempts to provide education through alternative mechanisms, such as community structures (Freire 1972) or peer tutoring systems[21], it is the formal school setting which predominates.

For the modernisers, education in traditional societies was based on two main areas - the family and religion. The former passed on those skills which were essential for subsistence, while the latter provided the social cohesion needed for communities to survive. The modern concept of the secular school is quite different. If the individual participates effectively in modern formal education, the modernisers argued, he or she will believe in education's potential to deliver a personal transformation in the form of new knowledge and skills demanded by the modern economy. Thus, the individual's willingness to be trained is a starting point for all the changes that follow. It indicates adaptability and flexibility, traits which will be needed when the individual participates in a modern economic sector where roles are regularly modified or redefined by technological innovation. Willingness to attend school also indicates that the individual has accepted the reality of working with and for others as part of a bureaucratic organisation with its role-assigned division of labour (Solomon 1987). These are the changes which relate closely to the Western concepts of individuality, rationality, merit and autonomy. It was perceived as a global phenomenon, a process driven by urbanisation, literacy and a desire to become a member of modern society (Lerner 1958; McLelland 1953; Rostow 1971; Kahl 1968).

Modern people have material needs, and are aware of opportunities to satisfy them. They are future orientated, willing to take risks to achieve what they want, but also have the judgment to evaluate the likelihood of success. They become more individualistic and willing to assert their individuality and hold opinions, but they are also pluralist, conscious

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[21] Though originally hailed as a revolutionary, cost effective and sustainable means of widening access to education, these initiatives, such as IMPACT in the Philippines, were later judged to be perpetuating unequal access and to have been unmitigated failures. (Flores 1981, Unesco 1984, Hawes and Stephens 1990)

of their own status and that of others. They become adaptable, more reflective and more controlled in their behaviour. Family ties and ascribed authority weaken and are replaced by a recognition that status is achieved via merit and that there are bureaucratic structures to determine this. Contractual obligations replace family duties and, because of the individual's greater flexibility, these can be redefined and renegotiated. Modern individuals access mass media in their daily lives and demand democratic participation (Parsons cited in Harris 1983).

Paradoxically, though education is seen to promote self-confidence, autonomy and positivism, it also promotes a greater willingness to co-operate and the ability to suppress self-interest (Meyer 1984). Individuality, however, is also fostered by education and the educated are led to expect greater material rewards accruing from their higher status. The educated therefore are thought to be more conscious of material needs and economic wants (Galbraith 1969,1972,1973). This materialism and individualism is also manifest in ambition, career-mindedness, self-reliance and a willingness to take initiative.

These changed ways of thinking engender a willingness to accommodate further change (Nafziger 1990). The universe becomes a rational entity governed by universal laws. It is to be explored for reasons of personal development and "learning for its own sake". This curiosity leads to new and more rational interpretations of phenomena, which allows people to evaluate risk. This particular attitudinal change, known as allocative ability, is often cited as *the* major change assisting the development of entrepreneurial skills (Schultz 1993:19). Modern people are able to accept that not all ventures will be successful, but equally know how to assess if the risk is worth taking. The experience of different specialisms in education promotes greater pluralism and willingness to see others' points of view. It increases the individual's adaptability and willingness to be trained, since the need for differentiated roles and skills is thoroughly accepted.

Education, via its content, structure and organisation promotes all of the attitudinal changes that modernisation deemed necessary and was the theory's prime mechanism to effect societal transformation. The three following examples illustrate, furthermore, how little change there has been in thinking on education's role. The only real difference between Hunter's imperialism and the 1990s viewpoint of Hawes and Stephens is that the latter are not confident that the changes are beneficial. They remain convinced, however, that essentially the same set of changes is promoted by formal education. Finally, Holsinger, a World Bank researcher, offers a perspective that mirrors the modernisation perspective precisely, but from the mid-1980s.

Hunter (1963), writing on education in East Africa, spoke of the need to create in one generation a new society - "new in language, custom, skills, political and social relations, new in attitudes, responsibilities and beliefs" - to replace "old African society". Skills were not enough, since "leadership, tolerance, self-discipline, obedience to the truth, a conscience relevant to new roles and temptations" were also needed. Literacy was the prime goal and schooling was essentially humanistic, "designed to give ... a sight of the fundamental values upon which Western civilisation is based ... via religion, literature and history and in the enquiring spirit of science". Like the schools of England, colonial schools were not designed to teach skills, but were designed to produce literacy "so the child of working parents could eventually look beyond the narrow limits of his life of purely traditional skills to a wider world of ideas and a more modern competence" (Hunter 1963:ix,7).

Hawes and Stephens suggest that school quality is a factor in formal education's ability to "contribute towards developing self-confidence and a sense of autonomy which are such important components in meeting safety, self-esteem and self-actualisation needs" (Hawes

and Stephens 1990:16). Older types of schooling socialised the young into useful members of the existing community, whereas 'Western-style' education is characterised by:

- youth and future orientation, preparation for adult life
- prescribed curricula and knowledge
- less reliance on 'learning and doing'
- training for vocation, though often in general terms
- labelling via examination and certification
- modern-sector orientation
- control by central bureaucracy
- ability to act as an agent of change

In their view, Western schooling is not community orientated. In fact, in the Third World, it was always designed to turn the young against the local community (Hawes and Stephens 1990:122).

In both of the above examples, education is a Western and modern phenomenon. It is a means of changing society. It focuses on the development of the individual, confers merit, status and social mobility via certification and thereby allows access to the modern sector of the economy. Crucially, in both cases it addresses the 'traditional to modern' concept.

In 1987 Holsinger gave the following list of modern traits - trust, secularism, high risk taking, favourable attitude towards manual work, independence from family and kin, universalism, need achievement, empiricism, futurism, recognition of the value of change, mass-media participation, calculability, dignity, efficacy, national identification, optimism, valuation of time and commitment to work. Participation in the modern sector also meant association with "non-culture-bound organisations of value transmission" which eventually produced a worldwide culture, since people everywhere receive similar formative experiences. All institutions of the modern economy, including the factory and the school,

were agents in this process, but schools, "because of their structural arrangements and the behaviour patterns of teachers", provide a special experience which promotes the adoption of modern values and affective changes (Holsinger 1987:108-10). Even the language used stems directly from the notion of education as psychic modernisation.

It is possible, of course, that education promotes attitudes and values which are contrary to the highly positivistic and rational traits demanded by modernisation theory. Williamson (1979), for instance, sees education's prime function as inculcating the habits of thought and social values which are dominant in a society. Through a ritualised and organised social process, the underlying patterns of the social order are transmitted across generations. But it is not a uniform process. Variations arise as a result of dominant principles of social organisation, such as age, sex, religion, nationality and occupation, which operate at a given place and time. Education is related to the model of development espoused by the ruling interests and access to educational quality mirrors society's power structure, with high quality education following a Western model. When the dominant power group is thus identified with an externally designed legitimation system, Mazrui's ideas of cultural dependency[22] and considerations of neo-colonialism become important, with the university being the most sophisticated instrument in the process. Given this structure, however, 'relevant' education - i.e. a different curriculum for different social groupings - becomes an even more effective way of ensuring even lower mobility and greater inequality (Simmons 1980b; Arnove 1982). In the extreme case, education can be seen as an agent for authoritarian control by the state (Lott 1989; Young 1989).

Considerations of attitude and value transformation are complicated by theories suggesting that attitudinal identity might be institution, class or group-specific. Berger and Luckman (1984), for instance, describe how knowledge is socially distributed - different individuals

[22] See later in this chapter.

and groups possess different types or amounts of it - and different types of knowledge are shared differently. Institutions, because of their individual histories and associations, fit into the societal schema in different ways and maintain a presence which is greater than the sum of individuals who currently constitute them. They have their own rules of conduct, morals and beliefs and deviation from these becomes a threat. Institutional ethos becomes a self-sustaining entity and institutions acquaint their members with this ethos systematically through an educational process, which becomes codified to assist transmission and memory[23]. Legitimation is the process by which individuals become incorporated in the institutional order, where they learn their place. The process is cognitive as well as normative - i.e. knowledge plays a role as well as values - and its product is secondary socialisation, where specifics related to the division of labour are learned, including role-specific knowledge, language and codes of conduct. Modern education provides this secondary socialisation whereas primary socialisation takes place in the family, and through peer relations.

Institutions can have their own identities, bodies of knowledge and value structures (Berger and Luckman 1984:72; Silverman 1985; Benavot 1996). Where there is a very strong elite identity and where that identity is also manifest at the institutional level, there may exist a concordance of identity, culture, values and attitudes, which together become mutually reinforcing and relatively impenetrable by outsiders (Berger and Luckman 1984:83-4). Other institutions and other classes, who are not themselves part of such structures, may feel pressured to aspire to those alien structures and beliefs if they are dominant in the society. This suggests that there would exist observable differences in attitudes and values between elite and non-elite institutions and also between individual assessments of the desired and the desirable. One would expect to find little difference between elite institutions, but a marked difference within the non-elite, perhaps sometimes

[23] McLean (1984) further suggested that the relative autonomy of educational institutions in particular may lead to conflict between their own values and those of the wider society

provoking a cultural conflict at the individual level and especially in a highly stratified system. Though individual attitudes may be formed by many simultaneous institutional affiliations (Weilenmann 1980:52-3), the focus of the current study is specifically the role of education.

In conclusion, then, we can say that education, according to the modernisers, transforms people via attitudinal change, as well as teaching functionally specific knowledge and skills. Predicted or desired attitudinal changes promoted by education remained essentially the same through to the 1990s, with the following prevalent:

- acceptance that education plays a vital role in development of the state, economy and individual
- belief in education's ability and right to confer merit and status, and that this can lead to differentiated rewards, social mobility and greater equality
- belief that problems can be solved by the application of science and technology
- belief that individuals are responsible for their own actions
- less reliance on family, religious or community allegiances
- a pluralistic and internationalist outlook

Furthermore, if the theories underpinning modernisation of attitudes and values are correct, these traits should be more apparent in the more educated.

Two further considerations arise, however. The first is that differences in attitudes and values are primarily reflections of pre-existing assumptions derived from social class affiliation (Bock 1982), where education merely transmits values which are already dominant in the wider society. Secondly, according to Berger and Luckman (1984), institutions themselves may develop and perpetuate identifiable and particular value systems. It is possible, therefore, that different sets of attitudes and values are developed by different types of educational experience. As will be seen in Chapter Three, this point is of

crucial importance in a highly stratified and marketised education system such as that in the Philippines. If these effects exist, they ought to be observable. This leaves us with three basic questions for the research:

- Does Philippine education transmit the modern values predicted by theory?

and/or

- Does Philippine education reflect an elite culture and thereby perpetuate that culture's dominance?

and/or

- Do different types of educational experience generate different value systems?

2.3. The dominant policy paradigm and human capital

Between 1970 and 1990 a dominant model for education's contribution to economic and social development emerged. Emanating primarily from international development and finance agencies, particularly the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF), it became part of the neo-liberal paradigm known as the Washington Consensus (Graham Brown 1991; George 1999; Mehrotra 2005; Torres 2002; Williamson 1993). During the debt crisis of the 1980s, this policy was applied frequently as part of structural adjustment programmes aimed at overcoming short-term economic difficulties (Williamson 1990; Sender 1999). This economically neo-liberal policy is relevant to the current study in two ways. First, it was developed during the 1970s largely in response to the identified need for educational reform in the Philippines and, secondly, I argue that it remains underpinned by the ideas of modernisation (Mundy 2002; IMF 2000; Post et al 2004; Stiglitz 1998; World Bank 1999, 1999a, 2000, 2002).

According to the World Bank, education leads to, or assists with

- economic growth in the form of increased GDP
- higher earnings for individuals

- industrialisation in the general economy
- the spread of technology, not only in the secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy, but also in agriculture
- skill formation
- greater equality, especially if access to, and quality of primary education are increased
- better health and increased life expectancy
- lower fertility
- greater productivity
- take-off (sic) via increased literacy rates (Haddad 1980; Squire 1981; Colclough 1982; Psacharopoulos and Woodall 1985; Psacharopoulos 1989; Lockheed and Bloch 1990; World Bank 1995, 1999)

All of the above stem from education's cognitive effects, but new skills, techniques and capacities may not necessarily be used productively or efficiently without the adoption of changed attitudes and values (World Bank 1980, 1995,1999; Psacharopoulos and Woodall 1985). These effects are often referred to as part of education's 'externalities', associated economic benefits which have been ascribed to education but whose actual effects have usually defied measurement (Meier 1984; Jimenez 1987; Schultz 1993). The non-cognitive effects of education are thus still crucial to its contribution to development (World Bank 1980, 1995, 1999; Easterlin 1981; Psacharopoulos and Woodall 1985, 1987a). It is here that World Bank policy demonstrates its links with modernisation theory most obviously[24].

World Bank thinking on education is essentially functionalist. Education increases productivity, teaches skills which employers value and thereby leads to increased earnings. Employment is viewed as a market and the higher salaries paid to educated workers are

[24] In the later documents, the word 'modern' has been superseded by the word 'global'.

seen as reflecting their higher value. If employers did not receive higher returns from educated labour, the theory argues, they would either cease to pay the higher salaries or go out of business. Skills and knowledge, plus the changed attitudes and values generated by education are seen as formation of human capital, which contributes directly to economic activity (Schultz 1993; Jones 1993), optimising the use of human resources (Landes 1969).

Human capital can be measured via rate of return analysis[25], which regards the resources devoted to education as capital investment. Once invested, these resources give rise to earnings and profit. The lifetime earnings of an individual represent the returns to that investment and the rate of return is the equivalent compound interest rate that would generate those returns over a working lifetime. Two types of rate of return are calculated - private and social. Private rates of return are based on private expenditure to secure education, including income foregone while studying. Social rates of return are based on public expenditure on education and include components for each level of education attended. Earnings data and private expenditure on education are gathered from surveys, while information about public expenditure on education is obtained from national economic data. In almost every case social rates of return are lower than private (Psacharopoulos 1981). This is interpreted as an in-built public subsidy for education from which the more highly educated individual benefits and which fuels demand (Squire 1981).

Applying this econometric method always reveals a positive return to education, with returns in the Third World often higher than those in the First World and usually with primary education showing the highest rates of return[26]. This may only tell us that primary is the cheapest sector and that employment outside the Third World for primary-only

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[25] See Psacharopoulos and Woodall (1985) pp19-25 for definition. Psacharopoulos (1988) and Ryoo et al (1993) describe how rates of return change across economic sectors and stages of development.
[26]Ogawa et al (1993) believe that rates of return for higher levels of education are under-estimated, Bowman (1974) over-estimated. In the US rates of return are highest in higher education (Carnoy and Marenbach 1975) and Bennell (1996) states that the rate of return patterns claimed by the World Bank are bogus.

qualification does not exist. Because of this, rates of return for primary education anywhere but in the Third World are impossible to calculate separately (Griffin and Knight 1992) and perhaps inaccurate anywhere as a result of the poor quality of available data (Miles 1985; Lee and Psacharopoulos 1979). Some writers describe the measure as crude (Levin 1974), while others believe that it understates the economic returns to education (Panichpakdi 1974).

Because of its higher rates of return, primary education has been given paramount status in the dominant policy (Simmons 1980, 1980a; UNICEF 1989; Lockheed and Bloch 1990), thus placing literacy acquisition at the heart of World Bank education policy. All other things, including greater equality, capacity to learn skills, allocative ability and technological skills are dependent on this. The quality of education matters, however, with dominant thinking asserting that five years of exposure to quality primary schooling are needed to develop competency in literacy. World Bank studies have examined the effects of various educational inputs on school quality and effectiveness and the effects of such things as teacher training and qualification, availability of resources, class size and teaching techniques, as measured by test scores, have been studied. The literature is unclear about the effects of these factors, but availability of textbooks[27] has proved to have consistent positive effects on test scores (Schiefelbein 1980; Simmons and Alexander 1980; Simmons 1980b; Heyneman and Jamieson 1980; Heyneman 1982). Class size, for instance, does not seem to be an issue where classes are already over 25 (Avalos and Haddad 1981), a finding that helped justify increasing class sizes to reduce costs.

Throughout, education is consistently assumed to deliver crucial aspects of modernity which allow the educated to evaluate economic opportunities, learn new skills and participate effectively in national and economic life. These changes have proved more difficult to research via studies, however, than other areas of educational quality or output.

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[27] A World Bank project in the Philippines produced 97 million textbooks in the Philippines (World Bank 1987), the effects of which were researched by Psacharopoulos (World Bank 1983).

Human capital, on the other hand, has proved very easy to measure, via rate of return analysis, and there exists an extensive literature in the area. Overall, human capital theory quantifies and qualifies Rostow's concept of social overhead capital, without which economic growth is deemed impossible. It is not a new concept, but Schultz's equation of knowledge with capital allows a quantifiable assessment of education's contribution to growth. According to Schultz, education increases both the quantity and quality of knowledge held within the population and ultimately it is the quality of these human resources which determines the rate and nature of economic development (Todaro 1989:330).

The dominant policy concentrates on developing general, transferable skills, which are seen as preferable to specific vocations (Psacharopoulos 1987a). Vocational education consistently shows lower rates of return than other forms, with the crucial factor of allocative ability being better promoted by the more general curriculum (Simmons 1980; Psacharopoulos and Woodall 1985; Dore and Sako 1989). Furthermore, human capital promotion is described as achieved most effectively in modernising environments (Lewin 1982; Schultz 1993; Ram 1996). Like other forms of capital, an oversupply of human capital may lead to inflation (Sobell 1982:62-4), as will be seen later when credentialism and diploma disease are discussed.

The concept of human capital also provides a theoretical mechanism to explain the nature of change in societies. Functionalist analyses of society and behaviour have often been criticised in that they provide little explanation of how systems might change. If people are educated for certain roles, how can societies ever exploit new areas of activity which require different skills and training? The answer, human capital theory maintains, lies in the allocative ability and transferable skills promoted by education. The educated are

aware of possibilities when they arise because they can evaluate potential risks and returns (Schultz 1993). Innovation provides the stimulus and opportunity, and human capital, eager to maximise returns on its investment, is the means whereby new economic activity is exploited. The market is the mediating force[28] that confirms and confers reward and it is again allocative ability that assesses the future worth of any individual initiative. Technical skill, of course, is taken for granted here.

Criticisms of human capital theory centre on the fact that it may be a proxy, indicating ascribed status and unequal access to the education system, with qualifications leading to returns on human capital merely the results of that status (Bock 1982). Human capital may help to hide the identity of the true beneficiaries of the education process, which claims to offer equality of opportunity as a goal (Carnoy and Samoff 1990; Riddell 1998). Rate of return analysis has potential for mere self-confirmation, since it measures human capital via increased earnings and these are highly dependent on pre-existing employment opportunities. Human capital measures may therefore reflect existing economic development rather than indicate potential for future growth. It is possible, furthermore, that particular educational institutions have the potential to deliver higher rates of return than others (Blaug 1976; Fox 1993), so even the acquisition of human capital may depend on pre-existing allocative ability in the form of choice of course or institution. Students involved in the process should be aware of education's potential effects, both at the overall level and, if it exists, at the particular, institution-specific or course-specific level (Schultz 1993). As will be seen later, this last point has major significance for the current study since it researches the attitudinal changes associated with different qualities of educational experience. If education fosters the development of allocative ability, or decision-making skills, and if the rewards conferred by different qualities of education are fundamentally different on non-educational grounds, then participants in the system ought to be acutely

[28] Also in education, theoretically ensuring its quality (West 1964).

aware of this, especially in the Philippines, where access to quality education requires significantly higher investment.

This dominant policy, however, was formulated in different economic conditions from those envisaged by the early modernisers and this has forced compromises that have affected the potential of education to deliver the developmental goals ascribed to it. It must be stressed that at no point did those who espoused the dominant policy ever question education's ability to deliver these goals. What the policy had to accommodate was diminishing resources allocated to education. The finance gap in educational resourcing was not new. A virtually limitless demand (Heyneman 1982), coupled with population growth and slow-growing economies during the 1970s and 1980s, however, forced Third World governments to take one of four possible policy options. One was to restrict access (Blaug 1980). Besides being politically difficult, this also had the potential to slow growth even further and limit human capital growth. A second option was to allow expansion and provide adequate resources. In the economic climate of the 1970s and 1980s this was difficult to sustain. A third option was to allow the system to expand while capping funding, which would lead to a reduction in educational quality, and the quality of human capital produced (Wheeler 1984). This led to increased class sizes, the use of fewer essential resources, such as textbooks, and increased urban bias in the system, since schools in richer areas could count on greater financial support from parents. The fourth option, which very few countries implemented in the absence of external pressure, was to privatise education and render it largely fee paying (Psacharopoulos 1989; UNDP 1989, 1991; World Bank 1986a,b,c, 1987). Most countries required some fee paying in return for educational places, but few operated the system whereby, at all levels of education, there was effectively a market in the provision of educational services. The Philippines was one such country, where the majority of educational institutions charged fees and virtually all post-primary education was offered by private, fee charging institutions.

The dominant policy, which arose during the structural adjustment era, suggested a mix of the above possibilities[29]. Educational provision was to be expanded to achieve universal access, but only at primary level, with the goal of literacy paramount. Beyond primary, a mix of state provision and fee paying was recommended, with higher proportions of user fees applying the longer students stayed in education (Edwards 1980). This was justified by the fact that private rates of return were always higher than the social, this being interpreted as state subsidy for private gain. It was argued that if this subsidy was removed, thereby releasing resources better applied to primary education, the rate of return would still be sufficiently attractive for individuals to regard their funding of higher education as an investment. It was also argued that privatising higher education would increase demand for it (Psacharopoulos and Sanyal 1981). The overall goal of the policy was to keep access to education and literacy as wide as possible (Lockheed and Bloch 1990), but to allow market forces to drive the provision of higher levels of education as a way of aligning it with what the society could afford and the skills demanded by the economy (World Bank 1986a,b,c).

The implementation of these policies, however, led to some undesirable outcomes (Hinchcliffe 1989; Lewin and Little 1984; Lewin and Berstecher 1989). Shifting resources from higher education and introducing cost recovery proved politically difficult (Brooke 1992). Since, therefore, resources did not move towards expanding provision in primary education, the majority of people received poorer quality education (Fuller 1986; Adams 1989; Reimers 1991; Mundy 1993). Class sizes increased, teacher numbers fell and teacher quality was reduced as a result of lower salaries. This, along with the introduction of user fees, led to reduced access to education and thereby reduced human capital growth (NEDA 1986; UNICEF 1989; Ogawa and Tyusa 1993a). Meanwhile, demand for education grew,

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since it remained the only means of obtaining the skills and qualifications needed for salaried employment.

Increased demand, stagnant funding, inadequate provision and economic downturn thus threatened to reduce quality further, restrict access and lower human capital growth. Though the intention of the dominant policy was to maintain education's contribution to economic development, the reality was often to achieve the opposite[30] (Fuller 1989; Graham-Brown 1991; Brooke 1992; O'Sullivan 1998). Those who espoused the policy, however, generally applied the counter-factual argument in its defence, claiming that without marketisation and cost recovery the effects of economic downturn and national debt on education would have been far worse[31].

As will be seen in Chapter Three, this dominant policy arose from the Philippine education system, where the associated increased marketisation of education exacerbated inequalities and quality disparities within an already highly stratified system. It is part of the aim of this study to analyse whether these effects were perceived by participants in the system and whether the increased stratification actually gave rise to measurably different educational experiences and outcomes.

2.4. Criticisms of education's role in development

Not all writers on education's role in economic change see it as beneficial, with the crucial criticism being that education can mirror the social class characteristics of the society. It can therefore be exploited by those with resources and access to reproduce and legitimise their continued advantageous position (Dubbledam 1984). Education thus becomes a cost for society as a whole, where the rich and powerful, subsidised by the poor, reproduce their

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[30] For example see Brittain (1991); Aedo-Richmond and Noguera (1989) on Chile; Boyce (1993) on the Philippines; Chung (1989) on Zimbabwe; Fuller (1989) on Malawi; Hoppers (1989) on Zambia; Hughes and Fagbamiye (1986) on Nigeria; McGinn and Street (1986) on Chile; Sefa Dei (1993) on Ghana.
[31] See Woodward (1992,1992a) for an examination of the effects of structural adjustment policies.

status (Coombs 1968). Various mechanisms have been suggested by which this social reproduction is accomplished and this section describes a number of them, being the dual economy, screening, credentialism, queue theory and cultural capital. All of these criticisms of education as human capital generation could apply to the Philippines.

The concept of a dual economy grew out of an analysis of the early stages of development, especially that of plantation agriculture in pre-industrial Third World nations (Frank and Frank 1992). It sees two identifiable sectors of economic activity, one rational, scientific and modern and another based on peasant subsistence (Chakravaty 1991; Hout 1993). Employment in the modern sector is waged, whereas family and traditional systems dominate the latter. Economies are seen as composed of primary and secondary labour markets, the former being sited in the large corporations and upper levels of civil service, while the latter is in peasant agriculture, the informal sector, smaller companies and lower status civil service posts. Primary sector posts are limited in number, secure, well paid and fully integrated into the modern sector of the economy. Secondary sector employment is characterised by mass participation, insecurity, poor pay and varying degrees of integration into the modern sector. Educational achievement is one of the pre-requisites for admission into the primary employment sector.

Especially in the Third World positions in the primary employment sector are few (Sutcliffe 1992) and the number of education graduates with the requisite qualifications always exceeds the opportunities available. The benefits of primary sector employment are so great, however, that the prospect of non-admittance does not affect the number of people seeking the required qualifications. Large numbers of qualified people who do not gain employment in the primary labour sector take jobs in the secondary sector (Adiseshiah 1982; Abe 1985), forcing the secondary sector to demand educational qualifications for entry. The number of opportunities in any part of the economy for those

without qualifications therefore diminishes (Coombs 1985), leading both to the impoverishment of the less educated and, at the same time, an increase in demand for education, since it becomes the only path to any employment. This explains the consistently high demand for education even when it is expensive and where employment opportunities are very limited.

The second consequence of the disparity between primary sector opportunities and the supply of educated labour is the depression of pay and conditions in the lower echelons of the primary sector, itself (Ruccio and Simon 1992). Promotion and on the job training will eventually lift some primary sector entrants to higher pay and security, but initially, primary sector organisations can hire on secondary sector terms and conditions, thereby lowering costs and increasing profitability. There may therefore be no immediate financial or job security advantages in primary sector employment. These accrue only to those who are retained and are promoted (Amin 1982; Frank and Frank 1992).

Screening is related to dual economy theory, operating at the point of hiring, and refers to the use by employers of educational qualifications as the primary mechanism of identifying potential employees. It suggests that qualifications are used to exclude the majority of applicants for primary sector positions and identify a minority of people to be interviewed or screened further (Whitehead 1981). The hypothesis postulates that the screen operates differently at different employment levels, with qualifications expected varying from school leaver certificates through to postgraduate degrees. Proponents of the screening hypothesis maintain that these different levels of operation are well known amongst the wider population and so this creates a limitless demand for education. Participants strive to attain the highest level of qualification they can, correctly assuming that this will allow them access to ever more secure and higher paid jobs in the primary sector.

Limitless demand for education does not necessarily mean larger numbers of graduates, but it does mean that more people embark upon the pursuit of qualifications. There is an indirect cost to the individual associated with education in the form of lost opportunity to earn and in some education systems there is also a direct cost in the form of fees. Not all entrants to the system can sustain these costs and some drop out without finishing their qualification. This automatically favours those with the resources to back their continued participation in education and so, of course, favours the employment chances of higher social classes or elite groups. Where education systems are highly marketised and employ a high level of cost recovery, such as the Philippines, these characteristics ought to be apparent and perceived by those involved.

Credentialism postulates that there is an increasing tendency for educational qualifications to be required for entry into every level of employment. Higher status positions require higher status credentials and, as with screening, only those with the desired credentials will be considered (Fox 1993). The credentials in question are invariably conferred by formal education, with experience alone no longer seen as important[32]. Students within formal education are aware of the process and therefore pursue qualifications for their own sake, rather than for the knowledge or skills which are learned. Qualifications become ends in themselves and course content may even be unrelated to what is demanded by the available jobs (Bowles 1980; Dore 1980; Whitehead 1981; Preston 1984; Ranis 1991). In this way, credentialism becomes a screening process which not only determines the acceptability of an application to join a particular occupation, but also acts as a mechanism which limits entry to certain jobs and professions, especially those with higher socio-economic status (Little 1988; Little and Singh 1992).

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[32] Livesay (1983) maintains that, even in the Philippines, real technical skills are generated on the job.

Critics of screening and credentialism see them as platitudes, citing the fact that, for instance, a degree in medicine is needed to become a doctor is nothing less than desirable. If education does indeed develop skills, then screening is merely a way of identifying those applicants who possess the requisite skills (Blaug 1985). Credentialism, however, results in limitless demand and again favours those with the resources to sustain longer periods in education. It fuels the growth of qualification-conferring institutions and courses which may be wholly unrelated to any particular form of employment or any usable skill. The second and related consequence is the growth of diploma disease (Dore 1976) and qualification inflation. Since qualifications are needed for employment and since large numbers of these are available and achievable, students spend increasing amounts of time and resources collecting more of them. At the same time an increasing supply of graduates forces employers to raise the entry levels required.

Queue theory is another extension of screening and credentialism (McNabb 1987). Without assuming the existence of a dual economy, it identifies a hierarchy of employment opportunities. Candidates form a queue, with the higher qualified towards the head of the queue. Other factors, such as ascribed, social or economic status can affect one's position in the employment queue, but these are often hidden, since education often acts as their proxy. The queue is constructed around qualifications, but those people from higher social or economic status backgrounds, or indeed those with ascribed status have greater access to education and a greater likelihood of completing it.

Queue theory exponents conclude that education's main role is merely to identify where an individual should be placed in the queue. Education systems then are merely graders and sorters of the population and, as such, assist employers to reduce recruitment costs (Carnoy 1977), partly explaining why employers are willing participants in credentialism. Higher status and, from the employers' point of view, higher cost, but potentially higher value

individuals are towards the head of the queue. Individuals strive for higher status by amassing higher level educational credentials.

Critics of queue theory regard the whole idea as nothing more than a description of 'merit'. If access to education and qualifications is different for those who originate from the higher social or economic status, however, then queue theory sees education's role as merely legitimising these groups' greater access to higher status employment and a greater likelihood of being hired. Education, in this view, is merely a way of legitimising the fundamental lack of social mobility, a characteristic that surely would be apparent to its participants.

Cultural capital explains how education plays a leading role in a neo-colonial relationship between the developed world and Third World (Mazrui 1975) and asserts that societies tend to reproduce their existing social and economic relations. In Bourdieu and Passeron's original formulation[33], there existed three forms of capital - economic, social and cultural. Cultural capital takes the form of skills, knowledge and values. Social capital is the allegiances to institutions and organisations, and economic capital is self-explanatory. If an elite can come to dominate all three aspects of capital it can perpetuate itself and maintain its status. In modernisation, a traditional elite holds a dominant position, but loses control of economic capital and thereby cultural and social capital as modern people emerge. But the elite group can continue to dominate education and the media. The very transmitters of wider access and social mobility in modernisation become the elite's own regenerative mechanisms, thereby blocking the envisaged modern transformation. If this were the case, then one would expect that the value structures of elite education would be closely aligned with the values of the existing elite and one would expect to identify a primarily socially reproductive function in elite education, itself.

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[33] See http://www.sociology.org.uk/tece1tf.htm for a summary.

A dominant ideology associated with a dominant group in society presents a hegemonic model, with an associated set of values. The dominant group is heavily represented in high status positions and institutions, with possession of educational qualifications required for access to these high status positions. Success in education is determined by the individual's absorption of, or identification with, the dominant culture. Education, therefore, is heavily influenced by that dominant culture and at elite levels is its purveyor and legitimiser[34], a role which has also been described in the First World (Collins 1971).

Mazrui's (1975) view is that the relation between the First World and Third World is a neo-colonial one. Economic relationships which were established during the colonial era are perpetuated, with real power at the 'centre' of a world economic system, whilst Third World states exist within a periphery. Local elites in the Third World maintain their privileged status and their access to power by virtue of their espousal of and identification with the dominant value and cultural systems, which originate at the 'centre' (Amin 1982; Watson 1984b), rendering the local political and economic elite neo-colonial[35]. Education is the prime purveyor of this international cultural capital. It is a creation of the 'centre' and there is an unequal exchange of cultural capital between the First World and the Third World, mirroring the unequal exchange in goods and manifest in the transfer of published knowledge and technology. Migration of trained people from the Third World to North America and Europe is another aspect of the same phenomenon (Arnove 1982; Trainer 1989).

Educational qualifications again are seen as a proxy for assimilation of the dominant culture and value system. Possession of this cultural capital makes it possible for an

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[34] See Williamson 1979 for a discussion on Cultural Capital in education.
[35] Arnove (1982) and Whitehead (1982) describe the dominant education policy in the Third World as a continuation of colonial-style education and a means of maintaining a "psychological dependency".

individual to migrate, have access to high status and high reward positions anywhere in the world. Education is not the only manifestation of cultural capital, however, and considerations of race, ethnicity and gender also apply. Like other forms of capital, an over-supply may lead to 'inflation', in the form of demand for ever-higher levels of qualification (Webster 1984). This is most likely in areas where opportunities for membership of the elite are few and the supply of educated people is great. Thus qualification inflation and with it the demand for education will be highest in areas where opportunities are the fewest, i.e. in the Third World. It was a belief that education in the Philippines was a purveyor of a neo-colonial cultural capital, thereby inculcating beliefs fostering migration, which provided the motive for conducting this study into attitude and value formation.

2.5. Conclusion: some pointers for study

Chapter Two has reviewed education's theoretical contributions to national and economic development. It has presented these claims within a modernisation framework, in which attitude and value formation remains crucial. The current dominant thinking on education's role in development, including human capital theory, rate of return analysis and increased marketisation via cost recovery, has also been examined. This policy reiterates the general thrust of modernisation, in its stress on literacy and primary education and the development of attitudinal modernity[36]. Human capital and rate of return analysis are shown as attempts to identify and quantify both Denison's residual and Rostow's social overhead capital, demonstrating that current thinking and policy on education's role derives from modernisation, especially in the area of attitude and value formation, with the term 'modern attitudes' and 'take-off' still in common use. Lastly, some criticisms of education's role in development have been described.

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[36] The attitudinal elements of the policy were also considerations in First World systems (Taylor 1985).

Given the reality of the application of these multilateral agency policies during the debt and structural adjustment eras, it is a highly relevant research question to ask whether the stated aims of the policies were actually achieved. The problems caused by lack of funding for education and the general fall in quality may have undermined education's ability to achieve these stated aims. The current study examines this issue by identifying whether education in the Philippines does indeed promote the modern attitudes and values predicted by this theory, being, above all, an implicit belief in the education process and especially in the importance of literacy. Participants in education would be aware of education's ability to confer status and ascribe merit and would be comfortable with this, since it would offer the chance of social mobility and economic benefit. They would be conscious of education's role in defining nationhood, national culture and citizenship and would see it as a force promoting unity and identity. They would recognise education's ability and effectiveness in developing skills and knowledge relevant to the needs of employment and the national economy, would be aware of the opportunities that exist and would know what opportunities might be available to them (Williams and Gordon 1981). They would believe in their own ability to achieve qualifications and would believe that this would facilitate the securing of their eventual preferred career option. They would demonstrate an implicit 'faith' in education.

Specifically in relation to the dominant policy, participants in education would demonstrate strong allocative or decision-making skills. At least implicitly, they would be aware of human capital and potential returns from particular career routes. They would accept allocation of status on the basis of merit and educational qualification and would recognise the right of teachers and educational systems to define and determine individual achievement. They would also demonstrate that they had at least considered their educational and career options from an investment or returns perspective and would expect those results to be available to them if they achieved the required status.

They would display a strong sense of individualism, with family, religious, ethnic or regional identities being less pronounced than in the less educated. They would be 'future orientated', pluralist and internationalist. They might also be influenced less by their own class or social background and more by the institutional effects and assumptions inherent in the educational process. They would espouse rationality and positivism, and would believe in the power of science and technology to control natural forces. They would demonstrate flexibility and a willingness to change, would be able to assess risk and use this to assist in decision-making. They would accept differentiated rewards and favour meritocratic practices. It is not suggested here that because people believe these things that they actually exist in the society. The study intends only to find out if people *believe* they do and if such belief is associated with exposure to education.

If the study were to find rather different attitudes towards education and its potential contribution to national, economic and individual development, then it could be concluded that education experience was characterised by some or all of the criticisms of the dominant theory. A strongly credentialist system, or one characterised by an employment queue, could surely not hide from its participants that the courses of study presented bore little relation to the skills or knowledge needs of eventual employment. Education as cultural capital would promote a belief that it was the purview of only a small, already privileged section of the population. Its prime function would be seen as conferring existing status. Such a standpoint would dominate any possible belief in merit or mobility. Different levels of education would be perceived as identified with different classes or groups. Participants would be aware of these differences, since they are surely aware of the different attitudes and values which characterise the different social classes in their own society. As a consequence, different sectors or levels of the education system would be perceived as promoting only particular class values.

Diploma disease would generate extremely high demand for education, but simultaneously would also produce a high drop out rate, since enrolment in a given course would not necessarily be determined by ability, motivation or aptitude. Furthermore, individual participants' educational histories would be likely to display some degree of incoherence or changes in focus. There would surely develop some cynicism or distrust with regard to education's necessity or efficacy in confirming status or merit. One would expect to observe less adherence to the overall importance of individual ability, the role of science and technology and mobility through merit. One might also expect more scepticism on whether education, itself, contributed materially to either individual or national development. Finally, if Philippine education were perceived as neo-colonial, as in the cultural capital model, one might expect to find an accommodation of migration for employment at an ideological level.

These, then, are the attitude and value considerations predicted by the theory and which were incorporated into Philippine education via reforms sponsored by the multi-lateral agency donors after 1970. Because these policies were later implemented elsewhere at a time when education's role in development was increasingly stressed, it was highly pertinent to ascertain the extent to which the policy prescriptions were actually achieved. The Philippines, it is argued, was where the policies were first implemented and so it was there that the results could first be observed. By the mid-1990s, all students on undergraduate courses had been educated after the reforms had begun. Studying Philippine education offered the possibility of describing and then contrasting the attitudinal characteristics of more and less educated individuals to evaluate education's role in attitudinal change and whether this was in line with the policy aims. Furthermore, because of the highly inegalitarian nature of post-primary education in the Philippines as a result of its reliance on a market, the country also provided an opportunity to identify whether the

experience of different qualities of education led to different attitudinal characteristics. Findings from the research would provide pointers for other countries where this aspect of the educational reforms had not yet had time to develop. Chapter Three will consider the characteristics of education in the Philippines and will thereby enable the study to focus on those specific aspects of attitude and value formation most likely to be evident in the Philippine system.

Chapter Three

Philippine education: its historical background, characteristics and the attitudes and values promoted by it.

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Three relates the issues raised in Chapter Two to the Philippines. It identifies attitudinal characteristics relevant to the Philippines in the 1990s and how these changed during the educational reform period, thereby answering research questions 3, 4 and 5, as listed in Chapter One. It identifies how attitudinal characteristics demanded by modernisation might be evident in the Philippines, lists the attitudinal goals and perceived deficiencies of Philippine education in the 1970s and details the changed attitudinal goals of the educational reform programme.

The development of education in the Philippines during the country's two colonial eras is considered first in which the unique characteristics of the system are identified, especially its duality based on language and quality, characteristics which are identified as having the potential to promote different kinds of attitudinal development. The next two sections consider the state of education in the country in the 1970s and 1990s, before and after the major reform programmes sponsored by the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF), identifying how goals for attitudinal development changed. Previous research on attitude and value development within Philippine education is considered next, followed by a brief description of migration, an issue which my interviewees regarded as a significant pointer as to whether education in the Philippines develops "foreign" cultural capital. The interests of the groups and individuals who helped to formulate this study are then considered, and finally a conclusion identifies detailed questions about attitude and value formation in Philippine education that the current study seeks to answer.

3.2. Historical Background

The Philippines is not unique in having had two distinct colonial periods, but in the case of the Philippines the two colonial influences had radically different development goals and thus education developed differently in the two eras. As will be seen, the system still displays evidence of both the Spanish and American colonial periods and their different educational goals.

Formal education in the Philippines is described, from its beginnings under Spanish colonial rule, through the expansion of the United States (US) period and beyond. It will be demonstrated that Philippine education began as a wholly elite institution servicing the needs of the colonists. Later, a local elite demanded and gained access to education as a means of securing its own status. The elite resisted changes which challenged this function and, when changes were imposed, they preserved the elite sector's separate identity by restricting access, thereby perpetuating the system's dual nature. As will be seen in later sections, Philippine education retains these characteristics, which now form the basis of the system's different levels of quality.

3.2.1 Spanish colonial period

Formal education in the Philippines began in the Spanish colonial period (1542-1898). Descriptions of pre-colonial life do not mention formal education (Constantino 1984) and initially the colonial education system served the needs of the settler Spaniards, *peninsulares*. Educational institutions, funded and operated by religious orders, as in Spain, were established in administrative centres, such as Manila. The colony's first university, San Tomas, was founded in 1601 (Karnow 1989), though the sons of the richest families completed their education in Spain. The education system, therefore, became identified jointly with external orientation and elite status (Constantino 1977, 1978).

Chinese merchants established themselves in the Philippines throughout the Spanish period. They inter-married with other communities producing a group the colonial authorities labelled *mestizo,* whereas indigenous Filipinos were called *indios*. Success in agriculture and mercantilism allowed some Chinese, *mestizo* and *indios* to grow wealthy. Desiring status equal to the *peninsulares*, they demanded and received access to education and also, for the wealthiest, a finishing in Spain. The local elite learned and spoke Spanish and became agents of Spanish culture and colonial authority. This elite consistently demanded parity with the *peninsulares*, but never independence and defined its identity in terms of access to and completion of education (May 1980, Wurfel 1988). So important was the label of being educated that the entire group became known as the *ilustrados*, the enlightened ones (Steinberg 1982; Goodno 1991). Education for non-elite Filipinos was provided by missionaries (Myrdal 1971). Literacy was the goal (Karnow 1989), but while the elite educational institutions worked exclusively in Spanish, the missionaries learned local languages to improve the effectiveness of their evangelisation. Philippine education, therefore, has always had a dual nature - a rural, indigenous language, semi-formal Christian evangelisation and an urban, formal, Spanish-medium elite system[37].

In the mid-nineteenth century, new educational policies in Spain were exported to the colony and in 1863 the Manila administration called for the establishment of universal primary education (Hunt 1988). A secondary school system was established by a second decree in 1865 (Cortes 1993), but insufficient resources were allocated and the reforms were patchily implemented. Primary education did grow, however, and by 1896, from a population of about seven million, some 200,000 children were in primary school (Hunt 1988). Even before the US colonial era, therefore, education was already well established,

[37] Constantino (1977) gives a full description of the complexity of relations between the *peninsulares* and other members of the Philippine elite.

with participation identified with affirming or confirming social status, which was inextricably linked with speaking Spanish and completing higher education overseas. In the US colonial period, speaking English and being educated in the US slotted into this structure (Karnow 1989).

Opposition to Spanish rule crystallised around the *Katipunan* movement, led by Bonifacio, who was not an *ilustrado*. The elite, therefore, did not support him, distrusting his orientation towards the poor (Constantino 1984; May 1980). Aguinaldo, who ousted him, was an *ilustrado* and changed the movement's demands to parity with, rather than independence from Spain, thereby garnering elite support (Constantino 1984).

On Spain's departure in 1898, Aguinaldo became president of an independent Philippines, but then the US began its conquest of the country and the Philippine-US War ensued. The previous political struggle had been who would control the economy and trade - the Spanish, the Filipino people through an independent government or an alliance between the Spanish and the local elite. The Philippine-American war was fought not only to establish US colonial status but also to redefine the alliance between the elite and the new coloniser, with the Filipino elite seen as using the support of ordinary people for independence so that they could secure their own economic interests (Miller 1984).

The Filipino elite played a neo-colonial role, identifying with US interests to continue their domination of the society and its economy. The elite did not fully achieve this goal under the Spanish regime, but they did under the US and this can be seen as the ultimate achievement of the elite's demand for parity (Cullinane 1981; Shalom 1981). Spanish education and qualifications defined elite status, but there was a duality in education, with provision for the mass of Filipinos incapable of delivering either. This duality apparently endures.

3.2.2 US colonial period

US rule began with the Philippine-American War (1899-1902)[38], so the initial goals of the colonial administration were military, aimed at pacifying local resistance. A tactic to assist military victory is to implement the reforms that the enemy uses to rally support. In some cases this might undermine the very interests that the conflict is designed to protect. Certainly, in the case of agrarian reform, the challenge was to institute what appeared to be reform programmes without undermining the interests of the landed elite (Putzel 1992). In 1898, education reform by the US colonial administration may have had military objectives, but it was also utterly in line with wider US colonial policy and suffered none of the internal contradictions inherent in the later agrarian reform policy.

The US inherited a country that was not a unitary state (Goodno 1991; Edgerton 1984). Early US policy, therefore, had to win the war, attain stability, strengthen the fabric and identity of the Philippine nation state and eventually prepare Filipinos for democracy, when they were considered educated enough to vote (Karnow 1989). Indeed, US policy perhaps did not exist beyond short-term goals (Owen 1983a), with the overall aim of establishing an economic foothold in Asia (Gooch 1914; Schirmer and Shalom 1987). The US administration initially re-established religious control of education, against the thrust of the 1863 reforms. Since free secular education had been part of the Aguinaldo government's plan, this move ran counter to the *ilustrado* position (Wolff 1991) who did not want a return to church power over themselves. The policy was duly reversed. Literacy was the stated goal to facilitate eventual democratisation, but even in 1900, education's potential contribution to economic development was acknowledged (May 1980).

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[38] For details of the range of estimates of war deaths see Francisco (1973) in Schirmer and Shalom (1987) or Poole and Vanzi (1984)

The US established an education system modelled on the one which, only fifty years earlier, had helped form a national identity in the US (May 1980; Green, 1990). In the US, education always fulfilled three broad policy goals. It cultivated national identity, maintained social cohesion and promoted republican values. These were exactly the goals identified for the Philippines in 1900 (Green 1990).

Education was to cement a Filipino identity and thereby legitimise and strengthen the nation state (Wurfel 1988). It was to pacify a populace resisting colonial authority. It was to forge a political alliance with Spanish-speaking *ilustrados* by granting one of their demands and, at the same time, it was eventually to be a force for greater social mobility and therefore equality (Crouch 1985; Clymer 1991). And it was to deliver literacy, the element which would eventually promote democracy, educate a local bureaucracy and promote economic change (Tayzon 1981). As in Chapter Two, where the claims for education's role were apparently independent of what *kind* of education was delivered, the US colonial administration appeared to believe that education could deliver all of its goals. In reality, between 1900 and 1920, there were three distinct and different education policies in the Philippines.

Education was explicitly to modernise Filipinos -"to create little brown Americans", as Wolff (1991) records - and to "turn them back from barbarism". Despite US Secretary of State Elihu Root's promise that the US would respect "...the customs and social life of the islanders..." and would modify them "...only when it appears to be necessary to conform to our fundamental ideas of justice...", Filipinos were regarded as a backward race, incapable of self-government. The local population would need "...the training of fifty or a hundred years before they shall ever realise what Anglo-Saxon liberty is..." (May 1960:6-10). The need to change Filipinos from their "childlike backwardness" was matched with an imperative to impose US values, the English language and modern culture. Co-operation of

the *ilustrados* had to be secured if the US was to achieve these aims (May 1980). A combination of education, development and democracy would modernise the Philippines (Karnow 1989).

The *ilustrados* warmly received US policy on education, though they maintained their long-standing demands for equality with the colonisers and control over their own affairs. In 1901, just 2.44% of the population was enfranchised and the US administration feared that the elite group might hold power forever (Wolff 1991). But education, through literacy, would widen the electoral base, encourage popular government and would deepen popular acceptance of the US administration, discouraging calls for independence. US colonial policy thus ascribed political and cultural goals to education from its inception (May 1980).

In 1901 the administration aimed to prepare Filipinos for democratic participation, with the security of the state the goal (Isidoro in Cortes 1993). An act established public primary schools, planned the employment of American teachers and officially adopted the use of English. The costs of employing the American staff were to be borne by the central bureaucracy, whilst local staff and buildings were to be financed from taxes. But elite interests were always accommodated, such as in the area of religious education, which was initially excluded from the curriculum, as in the US. The Filipino elite objected and the policy was immediately changed, illustrating the pragmatism which underpinned the US approach (May 1980).

Three directors of US colonial education policy promoted entirely different goals and even different philosophies of education. The first, Atkinson, established a bureaucracy and insisted that Filipinos, like Negroes in the US, be taught only practical skills. This was initially popular with the elite, but was unpopular with the mass of Filipino people, who

aspired to elite academic education (Karnow 1989). Barrows, on succeeding Atkinson in 1902, instituted a policy of universal primary education to create a literate peasantry with the goal of increasing social mobility, thereby releasing the masses from the "blind leadership of the aristocracy" (Karnow 1989:206). This was effectively a moderniser's objective of challenging traditional authority. Overall performance remained poor, however, because of irregular attendance, untrained teachers and lack of English language skills[39]. Elite domination of the system therefore persisted (May 1980).

In 1909, a new director, White, concentrated on vocational training and created a more selective system to pacify the Filipino oligarchy, which had grown uncomfortable with the political and social implications of mass education (Hunt 1988; Karnow 1989). Support for universal primary education was withdrawn. Though enrolment initially continued to increase, it later fell back, a change attributed to higher costs. Furthermore, in a non-industrial society such as the Philippines in 1913, the new industrial and vocational education programme was training students for positions which did not exist in the wider economy and so was no more practical than the earlier academic approach (May 1980).

Though the US administration did want to see social transformation, they did not want to question the position of the elite. The US may have been naive to think that education could bring about such a transformation, but the twin objectives of overall US policy - establishing a base in Asia and the production of export crops - were best served by maintaining existing property relations. This meant working with the elite and not threatening its status (Putzel 1992; Callather 1994). The US administration's education reforms effectively helped preserve the elite system and its status (Goodman 1983, Goodno 1991). The result was a *strengthening* of social relations established under the Spanish

[39] A 1903 study found 44% of Filipinos literate, however (Carson 1978)

regime. There might have been increased popular access to education[40], but the elite system remained private and separate, ensuring its continued status.

Filipinos recognised education's potential for achieving social mobility, however, and so educational expansion was demand led (May 1980). In 1926, Roosevelt described Filipinos as "education-mad", but the main goal was attaining elite status and thus access to non-manual work and economic power. Even then education was described as primarily a preparation for higher education, where diplomas were more important than what was studied, implying that credentialism drove the system. It was the status achieved that mattered, rather than the skills gained or knowledge learned.

3.2.3 Language and Quality

The US imported an education system and with it, the English language. The elite spoke Spanish whilst a variety of languages and dialects were used in different parts of the archipelago. The English language was to be the major force in the "emancipation of the dependent classes ... and necessary for the maintenance of liberal government", as David Barrows, Director of Education, put it (Steinberg 1982:28-30). The *ilustrados* initially wanted to retain Spanish, which had provided them with an identity, but there was great demand for popular education, and under US rule that could only be offered in English. Educational establishments serving the elite, however, continued to use Spanish alongside English for many years.

The *ilustrado* response was to establish private schools. The church had provided independent missionary education and a Spanish-speaking tradition and this was tolerated by the US administration (Gonzalez 1989). The state system was perceived as second best

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[40] From 1902 to 1909, the number of schools increased from 1633 to 4424. The number of Filipino teachers increased from 2882 to 7949. Monthly enrolments increased from around 200,000 to 434,000, while daily attendance rose from 150,000 to 354,000 (May 1980:108)

since it could not confer elite status. Preference for private education, therefore, had early beginnings. As more elite students trained in the United States, and as increased numbers of private schools opened to satisfy demand, the use of Spanish declined. The identity, ultimate superiority and continued association with elite status of private education, however, remained unchanged.

By 1926, English was understood by about a million people. This was the first attempt to provide the country with a lingua franca, since Spanish was never taught to the mass of people and its promotion was essential because the administration needed English-speaking employees (Hunt 1988). Cortes (1993) describes the English language as the most enduring aspect of colonial policy, but fifty years after its adoption as the medium of instruction, its use remained patchy, with only 50% of the population literate in English by 1951 (Steinberg 1982). Even in 1970, the Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education (PCSPE) commented that when classroom discussion was conducted in English, students were unwilling to participate because of their lack of confidence (Cortes 1993). English was the crucial element in an overall policy of enculturation, however, no less than an Americanisation of Filipinos (Roosevelt 1926). This conforms to Mazrui's model of cultural capital, where the culture with the higher value is the culture of the colonial power (Williamson 1979).

In 1957, English was dropped from the first two years of primary education, but private schools never implemented the policy. In 1970, the PCSPE recommended the use of Filipino throughout the primary sector, but again the policy was never implemented, with private schools retaining English. It has to be remembered that Filipino is not the indigenous language in many parts of the archipelago[41]. If implemented in full, this policy,

[41] Gonzalez (1982) gives some detail on the use and status of vernacular languages in the primary classroom

would have returned the system to its dual form under the Spanish, with local language instruction for the poor and the colonial language for the elite (Karnow 1989)

3.2.4. Summary

Education in the Philippines is the product of two different colonial traditions. Under Spanish rule, it developed alongside education in Spain. Filipinos aspired to participate in an established, foreign language, elite system, but the mass of Filipinos, even after the administration espoused universal education, had access only to under-funded, poor quality, indigenous language schools. Under US rule, education was specifically charged with delivering political and cultural goals, aimed at achieving "modern" transformation. The system was still based on a foreign language, however, and though enrolments increased, the system's duality was, if anything, strengthened[42]. This dichotomy, coupled with continued high demand promoted the growth of elite urban private education. It was the status offered by participation in private education and the resulting qualifications which mattered, not relevance or usefulness. It was a dichotomy which both the US colonial administration and the later Filipino administration sought to preserve.

3.3 Philippine education in the 1970s

3.3.1. Introduction

Harbison and Myers' (1964) study relating education to gross domestic product (GDP) per capita is often quoted in the Philippines. They found that the Philippines was something of a special case. While economically, it was lower-middle income, its education system was more like that of a high income country. In an era where modernisation was nothing less than a nostrum and where high levels of education, so the theory stated, created "social overhead capital" required by industrialisation, why was it that the Philippines was so

[42] US rule perhaps also widened inequalities in society at large (Stanley 1984).

underdeveloped[43]? Amongst many possible explanations, the possibility that Philippine education fails to deliver in the area of the attitudinal change deemed essential to support modernisation is the one which generated this study. Of course, the cause may be, amongst others, weak government, corruption, policy failure, poor administration or elite domination of the society, but it was the possibility that the highly developed education system failed to deliver this essential aspect which interested me and also interested most of the educational professionals I interviewed.

Human capital generated by the Philippine education system was unquestionably of sufficient quality to fulfil its economic role. Filipinos migrate overseas for work in large numbers and, presumably, their employers value their skills and qualifications. Why was it that this human capital could not be realised by employers at home?

The migrants are predominantly highly educated (Cariño 1979; Pryor 1979a) and often directly utilise the skills they learned. During interviews with practitioners, it was suggested that the education system might even be promoting migration by imparting a "foreign" identity. The hypothesis was that education not only raised the possibility of migration in the learner's mind, but also placed it as a goal, where anything Filipino was automatically interpreted as second best. Alternatively, those people who had most effectively and completely developed modern attitudes and values might be more likely to migrate, if their aspirations and ambitions could not be satisfied in an economy where the modern sector seemed perennially to stagnate. The attitudes that actually were being developed by the system, therefore, became the focus of the study.

The following sections describe education in the Philippines before and after the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) reform programme of the 1970s and

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[43] See Pernia (1993) and Ogawa and Tyusa (1993a) for a discussion on the Philippines' ongoing relative human capital advantage.

1980s. It was shown in Chapter Two that this policy derived from modernisation theory and so the transmission of modern attitudes and values was an integral part of the reforms. The context in which these attitudes were to develop, however, must be examined so that the results of an attitudinal survey on the role of education might later be interpreted.

3.3.2. National goals, enrolment and structure

National goals for education were outlined in the constitutions of 1935 and 1973 (Sison 1988; Republic of the Philippines 2006), the latter being Ferdinand Marcos's modification of the former. In 1935, these constitutional goals for education required that:

1. the state should supervise and regulate all educational institutions and provide adequate education, with free primary schools[44] and citizenship training for adults
2. schools should develop moral character, personal discipline, civic conscience, vocational efficiency and citizenship
3. religious education would be optional
4. state universities would enjoy academic freedom
5. scholarship in arts and letters would be established
6. until the adoption of a national language, English and Spanish would be used as languages of instruction
7. the state would promote research and recognise rights of authors and inventors

The 1973 constitution showed no substantive changes from the 1935 version, except in the area of language of instruction, which became English and Filipino. A new clause specified who was eligible to own educational institutions beyond the state, and study of the constitution itself became part of the curriculum. Free primary education had been provided as a constitutional right from 1935. This had been a goal since the 1850s and the Americans also promoted it, but full enrolment in primary education had never been

[44] Blofeld (1990) reminds us that free education still has associated costs large enough to restrict access from poorer families.

achieved. In 1935, and indeed in 1973, completion rates for primary education remained poor and widespread proficiency in English had not been achieved (Cortes 1993).

One of President Marcos's first acts under martial law was to establish a new education policy. Decree 6-A of 29 September 1972 detailed a reform programme and established his authority to borrow in order to fund it. The Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education (PCSPE) had reported in 1970 and provided an agenda for reform to address the "challenge of modernisation" (PCSPE 1970:preface). Problems of low enrolment in the rural areas, poor quality, poor attendance and inconsistency of language usage were identified, some of which persisted into the 1990s (Callanta 1988). In secondary education, the private sector predominated and upheld an ethos deriving from the Spanish colonial era. Urban elite academic education in English or Spanish contrasted with poor quality, indigenous language mass education in the rural areas (Tayzon 1981). Schools catering for urban poor followed the rural model, but a significant number of religious foundation schools strove to attain elite standards. Of course, they were themselves part of the private sector. Those that were more successful in providing quality education became more popular and tended to raise their fees. At least in the urban areas, then, there was a market in education beyond the primary level, from elite and very expensive to the free government schools. Popular sentiment favoured private over public and the religious foundations over purely private enterprise, with cost an indicator of quality.

Though the 1935 and 1973 constitutions recognised the state's essential role in education, the goals outlined do not explicitly address the relationship between education and economic and social development. Goal Two clearly addresses some aspects of the national-cultural contribution, but the social-economic sphere is only addressed via the demand for "vocational efficiency". The change in the language of instruction from English and Spanish to English and Filipino represented no new direction either, since the

use of Spanish had already declined. Filipino was not spoken by the majority of the population, so its inclusion was very much a plan for the future. Indigenous language education continued and was considered second rate, since knowledge of English was needed for entry to the secondary and tertiary levels. It was indeed not until the 1990s that the first two grades of primary education were required to be taught in Filipino and elite schools in the urban areas even then retained English.

In the early 1970s, enrolment in primary schools was close to 100%, with gross enrolments often higher, indicating significant numbers of repeating students. Some schools, especially those in rural areas, had 'ghost' pupils enrolled, allowing the retention of extra teaching posts. Literacy rates were reported as above 90%, with women achieving the same levels as men, though functional literacy was probably closer to 75%. This was later confirmed by a survey (Canieso-Doronila and Acuña 1994), which found 89.9% overall literacy but only 78% functional literacy, using Rosario-Braid's (1994) definition of the terms. Elementary schools were largely state-funded, centrally co-ordinated and, at least in theory, evaluated for effectiveness. The elementary school cycle was six years despite a law of 1953 demanding the establishment of a seven-year cycle. The law was never implemented since the extra finance and resources were never granted. Some private elementary schools, however, did implement it, adding significantly to both the cost of private education and the difference in attainment between graduates of the private and public sectors (Cruz and Caldo 1975).

At the secondary level, the situation was much more patchy. In 1970, approximately 65% of students entered high schools. By the end of the four-year programme, less than half of the entrants eventually graduated. Though low in comparison with high income countries, this still compared favourably with other middle income countries. Structurally, the high school system was more diverse than the primary sector, with about 40% of secondary

education in the private sector, with most private secondary schools being non-profit-making foundations operating under the supervision of churches or religious orders. These schools served higher salary earners and the whole sector had the character of an elite grouping. It would be wrong, however, to assume that this was not evident in primary education also, where there were several elite, private and heavily over-subscribed schools. Promotion rates from these schools into secondary education were close to 100%, whereas rates for government schools were much lower. This helped to reinforce the belief that quality education was only available in the private sector. The private elementary schools required applicants to take an entrance test in English, something which only a very small proportion of the population could even attempt (Nyuda 1995).

At around 20% of the age group, higher education enrolments were very high compared to most countries, let alone compared to other lower-middle income countries (World Bank 1990). The Philippines was unique in that around 80% of the provision was via private providers, and also in that a majority of students in the sector were women (Sanyal et al 1981; Smock 1982). State-funded higher education did exist and indeed the publicly funded University of the Philippines was, and remains, one of the largest and most prestigious providers (Cooney and Pacqueo-Arreza 1995)[45]. Most higher education institutions, however, had some private interest, and most students paid for education. Some institutions, especially those run by religious foundations, offered scholarships and opportunities for students to undertake paid employment in the university to fund their studies. Higher education provision was, and indeed remains, very concentrated in the National Capital Region around Metro Manila (Sanyal et al 1981).

[45] Rosario-Braid (1994) reports 250,000 enrolled in the State Colleges and Universities (SCU) and 1.05 million in the private sector. In 1988, Hodgkinson reported the target for tertiary enrolment in 1992 was 2.1 million. Actual total enrolment was clearly well below this target.

3.3.3. Quality

What this overall picture of Philippine education does not show, however, is the quality of education received by the students. While enrolment rates were high, completion rates were poor. In 1969, for instance, the following enrolment and completion rates applied:

	Enrolment (% of cohort)	Completion (% of cohort)
Primary	100	56
Secondary	65	23
Tertiary	20	12

Source: ILO 1974, 303-305

Barely half of the Philippine population completed the six-year primary cycle, suggesting that most did not attain functional literacy (Lockheed and Longford 1989; Lockheed and Bloch 1990; Lockheed and Verspoor 1991). Less than a quarter of Filipinos completed primary and secondary education. The Philippine system, therefore, was not delivering on the constitutional goal of vocational efficiency. Furthermore, dropouts from the system could not possibly be effecting the required attitudinal changes which modernisation required (Cruz and Caldo 1975; Standing and Szal 1979).

Dropout also represented wasted investment (Angara 1988). This was especially true in the Philippines, where many people invested large sums in education. According to Wood (1987), wastage was even higher than the completion figures might suggest, since many students repeated some years of schooling. Incomplete cycles of education add little or no economic advantage above that conferred by completing the previous phase and, furthermore, have very significantly lower rates of return than complete cycles. To reduce wastage, schools could be improved to increase retention through better teaching or more appropriate curricula. On the other hand, educational systems could be made more selective, so that restricted entry to post-primary education might be used to improve quality for the same investment. In the Philippines there was a third option, which was to

promote the private sector, and allow the market to determine the level to which individuals would fund education. It was this option which was pursued, made possible by the unique nature of the system, thus avoiding both the massive expenditures required to improve quality and the political difficulties associated with restricting access. This, I argue, was the origin of the dominant policy in education which was promoted during the debt and structural adjustment years.

Dropout from education might be the result of a host of factors, such as poverty, high opportunity costs, cultural factors, inappropriate curricula, exam failure, poor teaching, lack of resources, overcrowding, poor health and labour demands at home (Psacharopoulos and Woodall 1985; Selowsky 1980; Webster 1984). But an educational culture geared towards an elite also encourages wastage, since the level of dropout helps to define the elite status of those retained (Brimer and Pauli 1971). All of the above causes of dropout applied to the Philippines in the 1970s and increased marketisation of the system, coupled with its elite status ideology, had the potential to make things worse.

While average teacher pupil ratios in the 1970s looked reasonable at 1:35 in primary and 1:30 in secondary, they ranged from 1:10 to 1:185 and 1:8 to 1:120 respectively. Other resources, such as textbooks and equipment, were unequally distributed, with private schools offering adequate resources, while poor, especially rural, public schools had very little (Tayzon 1981; Pineda-Ofreneo 1991). Elite schools could afford to hire highly trained teachers (though they often didn't), whereas most could not. Though public schools nominally employed only qualified graduates, the rates of pay were so poor that many trained teachers would rather be employed elsewhere, resulting in perennial shortfalls in teacher numbers. In the rural areas, a student in the upper elementary years would probably receive instruction in a mixture of English and a local language, whereas national requirements called for English alone, explaining why many students could not make the

transition to secondary education, which was taught in English (Manalang 1977). The qualifying examination for higher education was delivered exclusively in English, so realistically only students who had been taught in English could attempt it (Ibon 1990; Cortes 1993). Considerations of quality meant that effective literacy rates were closer to 75% rather than the 98% often quoted, since school dropouts tend to revert to illiteracy (Cruz and Caldo 1975; Standing and Szal 1979).

Quality was also an issue in higher education. Many of the mass education private colleges had the reputation of being little more than secondary schools[46]. Many students would do a course and then try to use the qualification for entry to a higher status institution. Enrolment in higher education, therefore, was probably over-stated. Many of the courses were described as poor quality and unrelated to employment (Dumlao 1982; Arcelo and Sanyal 1987; Gonzalez 1989). That higher education was in itself almost universally regarded as desirable, however, is clear (Cortes 1993). Even in the rural areas, it was reputed that 86% of parents wanted to see their children achieve that goal, but only 25% of people could even begin to fund it. Only a fraction of these, given the need for English proficiency, could possibly secure a place (Manalang 1977).

3.4 Changed goals

The involvement of international agencies in Philippine education increased markedly during the Marcos martial law period (1972-1986) and continued throughout the recession of the 1980s and into the 1990s. The PCSPE report had identified problems with education, notably poor quality, inadequate funding, over-centralisation, poorly trained teachers and poor management. The ILO (1974) described Philippine education as over-expanded, given the needs of the economy. It was a system in need of reform.

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[46] Discussion over the years on this point can be found in Dumlao (1982), Gonzalez (1989), Hussein and Psacharopoulos (1994) and Sernau (1996)

These findings arose at a time, however, when the global economy was suffering the aftermath of the first oil crisis. Many Third World countries, after a decade when economic growth had been modest while population growth had been explosive, had insufficient resources to fund public services. Such countries were faced with a dilemma. Given the nostrum that education was essential to promote economic modernisation and growth, should they provide the education people demanded and thereby contribute to increased indebtedness, or should they allocate what they could afford and thereby risk political consequences of restricting access? So common was this dilemma throughout the 1970s and 1980s that it gained its own label - the finance gap.

The finance gap emerged when international funding agencies, especially the World Bank, were re-thinking policy towards education. Previously, funding had mainly been project or institution-specific, concentrating on providing physical facilities, especially in higher education. The new thinking, on the other hand, stemmed more from modernisation theory, where education was seen as a way of transforming the whole society by creating modern people (Payer 1982). Such assumptions relied on the provision of mass education and worked through the parallel mechanisms of attitudinal change and skill formation. But the finance gap apparently precluded the establishment of mass education systems. A poorly funded mass education system would result in poor quality, undermining its effectiveness and would therefore not achieve the desired transformation. Some politically acceptable means of concentrating the effort was needed. The World Bank and other agencies, therefore, aimed at increasing efficiency, concentrating on primary education, which would be available for all and at as high a quality as could be sustained (World Bank 1986c). Administration and planning would be enhanced via advisers and imported initiatives. At the secondary and tertiary levels, private funding would be encouraged to release more funds for improvements in the primary sector.

- a complete, adequate and integrated system relevant to the needs of society
- free compulsory elementary education
- scholarships and loans for deserving students, especially for the poor
- non-formal and informal learning
- civics and vocational training for disabled and unemployed youth
- relevant curriculum, including the study of the constitution
- values education, with goals of patriotism, nationalism, love of humanity, human rights, role of national heroes, citizenship, ethical and spiritual values, moral character, science and technology, vocational efficiency
- optional religious education
- reasonable supervision and regulation of public and private sectors
- sixty per cent ownership of private sector institutions by Philippine nationals, with control exercised by Philippine nationals and having no more than one third foreign students with the same exemptions in 1973
- recognition of local needs and planning
- academic freedom
- free choice of course or profession, subject to fair, reasonable and equitable entrance requirements
- professional development for teachers
- teaching in Filipino language and English, until otherwise provided by law
- priority for science and technology and research
- scholarships, grants-in-aid and incentives to science-based students; tax incentives for research grants
- conditions to promote technology transfer
- secure publishing and intellectual property rights (Sison 1988)

Here education's role in attitude and value formation is made explicit, an element often over-looked in stated curricular goals (Montero-Sieburth 1992). Also new was concentration on primary education and support for science and technology. These changes reflect both modernisation theory and the dominant donor agency policy which arose from it. It confirms that the policy formed by virtue of association with the Philippine system had become the dominant one and it illustrates the convergent model for education's role, as identified by Murray Thomas (1992), whereas the former constitutions did not.

World Bank educational reforms had been in place since the 1970s. These were:

- Program to Decentralise Philippine Education (PRODED)
- Secondary Education Development Program (SEDP)
- Program for Comprehensive Elementary Education (PROCEED)
- Education Projects Implementing Task Force (EDPITAF).

Each initiative was to address a different aspect of education - primary, secondary, teacher training and tertiary respectively - and outside agencies were involved from the start, despite internal opposition (Bernadino 1982). In addition, the World Bank funded a textbook project, producing 97 million books in the 1970s, changing the student-textbook ratio from 10:1 to 2:1 (World Bank 1987) and prompting Psacharopoulos to claim an improvement in educational achievement amongst those students exposed to the books, especially the poor (World Bank 1983).

The content of these texts, however, was criticised as inappropriate, even neo-colonial (Canieso-Doronila 1989; Ibon 1990). Indeed, the whole educational reform process has been criticised as driven by financial rather than educational ends, with the 1987 constitution goals described as unachievable, inappropriate in the Philippine context and driven by foreign interests (Maquiso 1988). Other nationalist authors, such as Jose (1983) and Montemayor (1969) had previously expressed this opinion. Indeed, in 1969,

Montemayor had said that the system's foreign characteristics rendered it the "greatest single villain in the national life" and the cause of society's ills.

PRODED was the first World Bank education initiative to be implemented. It was formulated and piloted during the 1970s and eventually became part of structural adjustment policies in the 1980s. It sought to prioritise primary education and aimed to secure a more even distribution of resources throughout the country. It promoted improved quality and efficiency and addressed overall management capabilities. Specific goals were to improve achievement, decrease dropout, increase access, standardise pupil-teacher ratios and increase efficiency through teacher training programmes (Sutaria 1982, 1990; Asia 1984; Miguel and Ordonez 1988). There is evidence that some of these goals were attained (Abiog 1989).

PROCEED was to operate within PRODED and provide the teacher training element. It concentrated on improving quality of classroom experience through the promotion of new teaching techniques and resources. Some of the PROCEED reforms dealt explicitly with training in attitudinal development. The 4H approach - Head, Heart, Hand and Health (SEARRAG 1987) - was an example, thus placing attitudinal development at the centre of primary education.

SEDP followed PRODED and concentrated on secondary education. Its goals explicitly list attitudinal development of the individual alongside skill formation. It was to concentrate on the individual to avoid his becoming "a mere cog in the mechanical, economic and social progress of society". This required the development of every individual's potential, a sense of nationhood, intellectual and work skills and the values needed to use the skills learned (Asistin 1982:46). On implementation, the initiative concentrated on the definition and resourcing of a standard secondary curriculum, followed by evaluation of instructional

effectiveness via before and after attainment testing procedures[49], indicating the policy's predominantly behaviourist assumptions (Neave 1987). Attitudinal and value elements were explicitly addressed via a values education programme.

World Bank policy towards higher education aimed to establish licensing and accrediting bodies to ensure quality and comparability across courses to address the poor organisation of the sector (St John 1986). The policy's stated goal, the promotion of private funding of higher education, was, of course, already in place (World Bank 1986).

A major aspect of attitudinal development is in the perception of education, itself. Unless people believe that education can deliver marketable skills, increased status and higher earning potential, thereby creating opportunities for lucrative employment and social mobility, then they might not seek to participate. This is an important consideration in the Philippines, where post-primary education usually involves private funding. Not only do people suffer the opportunity costs of not working while at school (Jimenez 1986), they also have to fund their post-primary education. Peoples' attitude toward the reforms, therefore, is a crucial factor in assessing whether they believe the system offers something useful to them. It is for this reason that the following section considers the effectiveness of the reforms and looks at the state of education in the Philippines at the start of the 1990s.

The 1980s were marked by a rise in Third World indebtedness and economic stagnation. In the Philippines this was compounded by policy failure, economic contraction, political instability, internal conflict, the loss of long-established markets and rampant corruption (Taylor 1988; Richter 1989; Tilak 1994). These were not the best of circumstances in which to effect educational reform (Balisacan 1995). In addition, the 1980s saw the implementation of structural adjustment policies which severely limited public expenditure

[49] Interview with Professor Ibe, University of the Philippines. Also, Professor Ibe's presentation at Education For All conference, University Brunei Darussalam, 1993

and thereby reduced the state's ability to provide quality education (Briones 1989; Constantino-David 1989; Balisacan 1995; Intal 1995). Some writers suggest that social policies such as educational reform were no more than palliatives aimed at sweetening the bitter pill of this economic adjustment (Hayter 1971; Jose 1983; Hayter and Watson 1985; Broad 1988).

World Bank education policies aimed at creating a market in education at the secondary and tertiary levels[50]. General economic hardship, however, weakened most families' ability to pay, with the brunt of the burden falling on non-elite urban wage earners (Arcelo and Sanyal 1987; Boyce 1993; Woodward 1982a). Such people were theoretically those who had the most to gain from education, since their futures were dependent on securing employment. But urban employment, especially secure jobs in the modern sector, became harder to find as the economy stagnated (Richter 1989; EIU 1992). The failure of the government's development strategy, the non-achievement of agrarian reform and the collapse of markets for specific cash crops, such as sugar, resulted in a massive increase in rural poverty (Feder 1983; Canlas et al 1988; Putzel and Cunnington 1989; Putzel 1992; Williamson 1993). Though primary education was nominally free, associated costs such as uniforms, books and equipment and, not least, opportunity costs as a result of lost labour were often enough to prompt rural children to drop out of school.

At the same time, central government did not supply sufficient funds to keep the system running (Constantino-David 1989; Heyneman 1989). Teachers' salaries fell, prompting disaffection and strikes[51]. Increased class sizes and double shifting, aimed at reducing costs, could only succeed with teacher co-operation (Beeby 1966,1986; Villacorta 1982) and low morale[52] undermined this (ACT 1984; Dimalanta 1989). By 1990, ongoing

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[50] The private sector in primary education also increased, however (Swinterton 1991:24)
[51] See *Malaya* 18/9/85 and *Bulletin Today* 17/9/85
[52] Good teacher morale is essential during educational reform. (Beeby 1986; Hawes and Stephens 1990)

economic crisis produced estimated shortfalls of 46,700 teachers and 9000 classrooms alongside inadequate funding. Some 12.9 million of the 16.6 million school-going population was in the poor quality public sector, suggesting that the Philippine education system was thus perpetuating inequality (Rosario-Braid 1994). Enrolment did increase in the primary sector, which was by then compulsory, but not enough to accommodate the population increase (Hamilton 1991). The Aquino government did claim achievements in widening access to education, however, as enrolments increased in both the secondary and tertiary sectors, despite the cost increases and general deterioration in peoples' ability to pay (Diokno 1989). Both completion rates and rates of return hardly changed (Ibon 1990; Hussein and Psacharopoulos 1994) and there was a general lowering of wages alongside increased costs of education (EIU 1992). At the secondary and tertiary levels, cuts in state funding, as required by IMF and World Bank policy, resulted in more students opting for the private sector, increasing competition for places and thus fees. Opportunities for employment for the unqualified, however, decreased, so demand for education increased. Though opportunities and wage rates in the modern sector both fell, they suffered less during the general downturn than those in the casual or informal sectors of the economy.

Educational quality fell across the board, but especially in the state-funded sectors (Avalos and Haddad 1981; Briones 1989; Wong 1987; George 1988; PAID 1991; Mariano 1991; Montes 1989). Dropout remained the same or increased (Cavanagh and Broad 1989; Inquirer 1990; Children 1991), while child labour rates increased, as many families took whatever earning possibilities that arose, even though that might mean dropping out of school. Against this apparent policy failure, the World Bank consistently offered a counterfactual argument to justify the initiatives, claiming that the situation would have been worse without structural adjustment and the associated expenditure cuts. The Bank did admit in 1987 that the reforms could have been better targeted and that the policies did not address fundamental imbalances (World Bank 1987a). Increased concentration on

primary education, in theory, would lead to a redistribution of resources benefiting the poor (Psacharopoulos and Woodall 1985). But poorer terms of trade, cuts in public expenditure, increasing population and economic stagnation meant that even resources allocated for primary education fell during the adjustment period (World Bank 1987a; Hodgkinson 1988; Constantino-David 1989; Woodward 1992, 1992a).

Educational provision for and participation by the elite groups or those employed in the salaried modern sector was not affected to the same degree (Wurfel 1988; Broad 1991). They did experience increased education costs and there were instances which caused howls of anguish, such as the move by one prestigious institution, De La Salle University, to introduce a trimestral year to replace its semestral one, thereby increasing fees by half[53]. Elite institutions in the public sector, such as the University of the Philippines, did suffer to some degree, but retained elite status throughout (Tiglao and Scott 1989), though teachers' salaries were eroded, resources cut and class sizes increased (Hodgkinson 1988). Such was the institution's prestige, however, that this did not did not discourage applicants. During the structural adjustment period demand for education actually increased, especially at the tertiary level (MECS 1986), since opportunities outside education were fewer, with opportunities for secondary graduates drastically reduced (McMahon 1987a).

Increased demand brought about a proliferation in lower level courses and a tendency for institutions to over-recruit to reduce unit costs, a practice which affected quality (Tiglao and Scott 1989). Students enrolled on these courses believed they would increase their chances of gaining entry to more elite institutions. Effectively this increased the costs of education further, since it led to qualification inflation and thereby prompted many students to do more than one higher education course.

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[53] Interview with Josefa Francisco.

At the end of the 1980s, therefore, Philippine education was as stratified and centralised as ever. It definitely offered poorer quality and enrolled more students, but many dropped out, thereby wasting their investment in education. Notwithstanding the counter-factual argument, it would be hard to see the World Bank initiatives as a success, as the Bank itself admitted (World Bank 1987a). At the end of the decade Philippine education was still characterised by deep-seated inequality and perhaps higher degrees of credentialism and diploma-disease. Inequality was manifest in the relatively unscathed state of the elite sector. Credentialism was in evidence through the proliferation of poor quality private higher education institutions and courses. Diploma-disease was manifest in an increasing tendency for students to do more than one higher education qualification, though this might also be explained by the differentiation in quality at primary and secondary level.

At the start of the 1990s, therefore, there was every possibility that people involved in the system would be aware of policy and reform failure via their apparent inability to progress through education without unacceptable levels of expenditure. Inequalities within the system were perhaps greater and were probably more apparent than ever. Dysfunctions such as credentialism and diploma-disease were evident in the increasing difficulty of securing employment. The existence of an employment queue was suggested by employers favouring graduates from particular institutions and programmes, a fact that seemed obvious to those in the system, but which had not been extensively researched (PMAP 1994; Landingin 1995, 1995a). At the same time, large numbers of educated Filipinos were migrating overseas, their qualifications and skills recognised and respected by their employers. To what degree did these realities undermine people's belief in education and their willingness to participate in it? Was this undermining belief in the value of education in the Philippines? And what, therefore, were the consequences in terms of education's potential for attitudinal change?

By the mid-1990s, the Philippines had completed 20 years of educational reform. Specific programmes in primary and secondary education, supervised by multilateral agencies, were by then complete. New accreditation structures for higher education courses were in place. The human capital thereby produced was intended to assist the Philippines to emulate the modernisation of other states in the region and it had been a specific goal of the reforms to instil "modern" attitudes and values to enhance the quality of this human capital. It was, therefore, a highly pertinent time to survey this planned attitudinal development in order to identify the extent to which the goals were being achieved, to evaluate whether the increased marketisation of education had engendered cynicism or disaffection, and to investigate the possibility that the attitudinal changes were promoting "foreign" cultural capital and thereby a migration mentality. The challenge was to identify the attitudinal change associated with experience of education and to describe the particular attitudes it promoted. These questions were addressed via a survey of participants in higher education, the results of which are described in Chapter Five.

3.5. Attitude and value research in the Philippines

This section reviews previous work on attitude and value formation within Philippine education and looks at some aspects of Filipino culture as described by a number of authors. It considers the findings of studies conducted over approximately twenty years, spanning the educational reform period. Conclusions are drawn regarding the nature and content of a survey designed to assess current attitudes and values prevalent within Philippine society and specifically those of students in higher education.

It will be seen that the current study's concentration on attitudinal development within different quality levels of education contrasted with the attitudinal characteristics of a less educated group of specifically urban poor residents provides a different focus from previous research. Both Guthrie and Lynch contrasted urban and rural experiences,

whereas Manalang's focus was purely rural. While Guthrie examined attitudinal characteristics associated with different levels of education, no study examined the effects of exposure to different qualities of educational experience. Hofstede's work focused only on an educated group in a multi-national company and found specifically national or cultural characteristics that were later used by Canieso-Doromila and Acuña to research functional literacy and associated attitudinal characteristics in a rural environment. The Personnel Managers Association of the Philippines (PMAP) survey, meanwhile, confirmed that that the experience of different levels and qualities of education has significant consequences for employment chances, consequences which could result from different attitudinal development. By focusing on an urban sample with different experiences across different levels and types of education, the current study seeks to identify whether educational influences contribute to the development of particular attitudes and values, and whether these differ according to the quality of education received.

In a study carried out prior to the recent reform period, Guthrie (1971) looked at education's modernising role in the Philippines. The study found that Philippine schools were not effective in promoting modernity, though it did find that those with more education tended to display less respect for their elders and everyone surveyed aspired to urban salaried employment. People generally aspired to modern values across all social classes, however. Differences emerged regarding assumptions as to whether these characteristics - such as a career, urban status, independence etc - might be attainable, with the lower social classes believing they would not.

Guthrie also questioned education's capacity to provide opportunities for social mobility. Though people wanted to pursue education, he found that both participation in and completion of different educational phases were strongly linked to social and economic class, with college education accessed by higher social and economic groups. Middle status

urban residents generally had some secondary education, with some having completed it. Poorer rural groups, however, tended to have only some elementary education, with only a small percentage entering the secondary phase. People generally believed that employment opportunities were increasing, with educational qualifications a necessity for anyone wishing to access them. Poorer people - everyone except those of high economic or social status - assumed that their chances of progressing through education were poor and they often dropped out of school. The research identified a belief that there existed a group of "big people", including landowners and urban salaried employees, whose interests were served by education and who generally completed secondary education and some college education.

Guthrie questioned whether attitudinal change preceded or followed economic development and concluded that education was a product and not a stimulus. The study found no evidence of rural-urban attitudinal dualism in Filipino society, and ascribed this to the fact that the Philippines is highly urbanised with close links between the urban and rural populations. He also rejected the idea of "backwardness", a peasant mentality forming a block to development, which some modernisation theorists proposed.

Guthrie did suggest, however, that there existed a series of prevalent attitudes which might explain why the Philippines was less developed than its educational level suggested. These were a subsistence mentality, fear of failure, respect for elders and "levelling". This last trait was defined as not wanting to stand out from the crowd, specifically not wanting to appear more successful than one's peers, and was previously observed in a study of failed rural development programmes by Madigan (1967). The current study investigated whether "levelling" could be identified in current attitudes and values, and whether it might be linked to educational experience by contrasting attitudes of students in higher education with those of a group of less educated people. The former group was surveyed via a

questionnaire, while individuals in the latter group were interviewed in first language. The results are discussed in Chapter Five.

Manalang (1977) studied attitude and value formation in a rural elementary school. Her description of the school and local population concur with those of Guthrie in that in this rural area most people had only elementary education and for many this was incomplete. Most people participated in education only because of the chance of achieving a qualification which might allow access to the urban employment to which they aspired. Participation was seen as a means of accessing the next stage of education and motivation was primarily personal economic gain, a result that was rarely achieved. Though the school taught cognitive skills well, Manalang found that the values it promoted were always incorporated into local norms to avoid conflict, concentrating on coping with existing conditions rather than creating new ones. Overall, the values promoted were obedience, respect for elders and submission to authority. The current study investigated whether these values were evident among more and less educated individuals.

Lynch (1984) surveyed adherence to modern attitudes and values associated with different education levels and social class. He found significant differences according to gender, with females scoring higher on autonomy, dominance and exhibitionism and urban females scoring lower on achievement and aggression. The major finding, however, related to a concept he labelled as *pakikisama*, which translates as smooth interpersonal relations (SIR). Lynch suggests that this is an important element in social and economic behaviour amongst Filipinos, who try to maintain *pakikisama,* since they perceive their security being maintained by inter-dependence. Lynch found that *pakikisama* was more prevalent amongst the poor, less educated, rural, and female participants in his research. In effect, this is the same observation as the "levelling" cited by Guthrie. Lynch suggested that the less educated would be less willing to display individuality, have more limited ambition

and less desire to attain upward social mobility. Lynch also saw this trait as generating conflict within education, itself, suggesting that parents wanted schools to promote *pakikisama*, whilst teachers wanted to promote modern attitudes. Such a cultural conflict might explain why many in education, especially rural or poor students, found it hard to complete the cycle. The current study researched this last point by investigating whether parents' educational or socio-economic background significantly affected current higher education students' assessment of their own chances of achieving qualifications and thence social and economic advancement.

Official standpoints on education's role in developing particular attitudinal traits make clear the relations between the 1970s and 1980s reforms and modernisation. The National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) stated in 1986 that values education would inculcate love of God and country, respect for human rights, love for truth, freedom and democracy. Work ethics, professionalism, productivity, discipline and self-reliance would be emphasised to enable individuals to adapt to a modernising society. Envisaged outcomes were a deep sense of gratitude, loyalty and commitment to serve society. These are essentially the same attitudinal goals that appeared in the following year's constitution. Though some of them, love of God, for instance, appear to contradict the stated modernisation agenda to weaken the influence of religion, in the Philippine context they may be interpreted as evidence of sacral and secular cultures, which compete for the individual's loyalty (Wurfel 1988). Sacral Filipino values see religiosity, community and kinship most important, whereas the secular pursue materialism and individuality. Wurfel sees secular values, associated with the more educated, vying for ascendance in an essentially authoritarian society where respect for elders is of great importance. The sacral versus secular dichotomy provided another area of investigation for the current study.

The educational reforms of the 1970s and 1980s set explicit goals for values education, despite the fact that these were not rendered constitutional until 1987. SEARRAG (1987), for instance, described the 4H programme (Head, Heart, Hand and Health), designed to impart nationalism, cultural identity, moral and spiritual values, self-actualisation and appreciation of social and economic issues. Further goals were recommended, such as knowing the Filipino value system, enhanced motivation and development of personal life goals. They recommended the identification of traits which might hinder development and called for schools to teach individuals how to rework these traits to avoid conflict with modern ideals. This, perhaps, was an attempt to Filipinise the reforms, which were still seen by many as foreign.

Hofstede (1980) surveyed attitudes towards work in a multinational corporation. Data from subsidiaries in about 40 countries suggested that there might be observable cultural differences in personal work values and ethics. His study only dealt with people employed by the company or its subsidiaries, but it does suggest what might be observable in the Philippines. Hofstede developed four axes with which to identify values and orientations:

- Power Difference (PD)
- Uncertainty Avoidance (UA)
- Masculinity (MAS)
- Individualism (IDV)

PD measures how distant from power an individual claims to be. High power difference is associated with authoritarian management, low participation by employees and fear of disagreeing with a superior. The Philippines proved to have the highest PD index (PDI) in Hofstede's survey. He found PDI negatively correlated with education level and status, with low education and low status equating to high PD - i.e. the higher educated perceived less power difference. Some of this arises from social background, with lower social class parents stressing compliance and docility and higher social class parents stressing the need

for self-direction. High PD is also associated with certain types of education. Where rote learning predominates, students are dependent on teachers and there is little questioning, whereas the higher educated are less rule-orientated (Hofdstede 1980). Uncertainty Avoidance Index (UAI) is based upon a desire for highly structured activity, a belief that rules should never be broken and an unwillingness to take risks. He found UAI not related to gender, but linked to age, with older respondents more likely to avoid uncertainty. Higher uncertainty avoidance was also associated with faster economic growth.

Individualism (IDV) includes the following traits:

- value of personal time
- independence
- calculated or 'professional' work ethic
- need for challenging work
- desire for autonomy
- willingness to take initiative
- universalism

The Masculinity (MAS) index relates to desire for career advancement, higher earnings and material possessions, the desire for training and being up-to-date. High Masculinity scores are associated with excelling, being decisive and 'living to work'. He found a correlation between the product of Masculinity and UAI and McClelland's need for achievement measure, with the Philippines emerging as characterised by weak UAI and high Masculinity (Hofstede 1980).

In a study of functional literacy in the Philippines, Canieso-Doronila and Acuña (1994) applied Hofstede's axes to analyse how literacy and employability interact. Quoting Hofstede, they describe Filipinos as having a keen awareness of status and power, a masculine orientation (in Hofstede's terms) coupled with a collectivist orientation, and a

willingness to take risks. They found that UAI correlated with good working relations and coping with barriers to success. Positive work attitudes and job motivation also correlated with literacy test scores. They conclude that literacy is perceived as a means of empowerment, enabling people to use new technology, find work, help others, gain more self-confidence, earn respect and become active participants in civil society.

They find the uneducated labelled as 'backward', with skill acquisition seen as essential for making a living and the unskilled effectively barred from paid employment. Alongside economic difficulties, the need to obtain secondary schooling is cited as a cause of rural-urban migration. Typically, the educational profile in a lowland farming area revealed that 57% had completed elementary school, 9.1% reached high school level and about 9% went to college. The cost of secondary schooling was seen as prohibitive and led to an over-supply of unskilled labour. Formal education was perceived as teaching different things from that which was known in the community, thus implying that it promoted values which were not those of the parents (Canieso-Doronila and Acuña 1994).

In the current study, questions relating to Hofstede's axes were included both in the survey of higher education students and in the interviews with those having exposure only to primary and secondary education. This was done not only to identify whether the current study confirmed both Hofstede's and Doronila's findings, but also to identify whether the quality of education experienced produced differences in attitudinal development. The study also required students to identify the types of primary and secondary schools they had attended. It was thus able to investigate whether the elite-mass dichotomy which exists in theory (Gonzalez 1989; Cooney and Paqueo-Arreza 1995) could be identified in students' educational histories and whether this influenced attitudinal development.

In a survey of new recruits (*first jobbers*), the Personnel Managers of the Philippines (PMAP 1994) consulted a sample of recruitment officers from companies in different economic sectors. The findings suggest the existence of a dual economy in which educational qualifications and institutional associations play a large role in defining entry to employment. New recruits are selected on academic qualifications and attitudes toward work, with the latter being assessed during a probationary period of six months. Positive work attitudes are found to increase with higher educational attainment. For professional, managerial and general white-collar work, proficiency in English was used as an employment screen, since companies deemed it essential for the work involved. For vocational or blue-collar workers, however, proficiency in Filipino was considered more important. Though usually English-speaking and with good work attitudes, college graduates were judged lacking in other desired traits, such as analytical and conceptual skills, computer literacy and technical competence. College graduates, however, were rated higher in areas such as maturity and ability to learn quickly, though it is noted that employers still find the absolute levels of competence and performance wanting, especially in language skills, along with creativity and adaptability, management potential, enthusiasm and self-confidence (PMAP 1994). Not included in the final report, but noted by the researchers[54], was a marked tendency for recruitment for positions in certain companies to be strongly linked to particular educational institutions, courses and tutors. This often operated on a near quota system, with particular colleges supplying similar proportions of graduates to certain companies year after year. Details of these 'preferred schools', along with expected associated starting salaries, appeared as part of the discussion that accompanied the publication of the report (Landingin 1995, 1995a).

The survey of higher education students included questions relating to all of the traits and qualities identified above. It surveyed such areas as attitudes to work, whether students

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[54] Interview with Arnel de Guzman, Sociology Department, UP, Diliman, August 1995.

believed they had any chance of working in their chosen fields and also whether they believed such qualities as creativity, adaptability and self-confidence had been developed by their education. Values deemed to promote modernisation were identified in Chapter Two. They demand employment orientation, reduced respect for ascribed authority, work ethic, looser family ties, increased individuality and a host of other traits generally associated with a positivist, informed and largely self-orientated Western individual.

Research findings described in this section suggest that the Philippines is characterised by a diverse and highly stratified society. Rural life has been strongly associated with a communal identity where the need for smooth interpersonal relations often promotes a levelling mentality, making individuals reluctant to stand out from the group. It has been suggested further that the formal school curriculum is nothing less than a foreign implant, with little relevance within the everyday life of most people and promoting values that are alien to the community.

Social stratification, qualification inflation and the potential existence of a dual economy suggest there might be not just one system of education in the Philippines, but many, each more or less attuned to the needs of different economic or social sectors. The question addressed by the current study is whether these different sectors exist, whether they can be identified and then whether they promote the development of identifiably different sets of attitudes and values. This could indicate whether participants within the system are aware of credentialism and diploma disease and whether these are perceived as prevalent within the Philippine system.

3.6. Migration

During interviews with educational administrators, teachers, politicians and representatives of non-governmental organisations, migration of educated Filipinos emerged as a

paramount concern. Attitudes towards migration are significant for this study because they indicate how the respondents view the role education plays in the modernisation process.

Migration for work from the Philippines is not new. During the American colonial era, Filipinos formed the bulk of the predominantly unskilled workforce in Hawaian plantations (CIIR 1987). During the 1950s and 1960s, a significant number of mainly professional migrants went to the USA, many eventually taking American citizenship (Cortes 1993). More recently the increase in migration from the Philippines has been staggering. By 1979, remittances from abroad by Filipinos were US$195 million, representing about 13% of the trade deficit in goods and services (Constantino and Constantino 1978; Lim 1987). In 1989, Karnow cited remittances of $1billion a year, 25% of export earnings, from 400,000 overseas workers (Karnow 1989). Tenorio (1996) reports that the Philippines was receiving about US$3billion in official remittances in 1996, with the suggested unofficial figure twice that. Official remittances represent about 4% of GDP and 20% of export earnings. Meanwhile, GDP per capita in 1992 was below the 1983 level in real terms and real wages had suffered 30 years of decline (EIU 1992). Most of these later migrants were drawn from the more educated groups, with 36% being college graduates and 80% having secondary education, compared with approximately 12% and 23% respectively in the population as a whole (Smith 1976; CIIR 1987; Gould 1993).

The destination of migrants has also changed. By the early 1990s, Filipinos were migrating elsewhere in Asia, to Japan and the newly industrialised countries, such as Taiwan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore and elsewhere in ASEAN (Stahl 1985). Many moved to the Middle East, where there was and remains demand in the oil-rich economies for service sector labour in particular. The USA remained a destination, especially for the more highly

educated and members of the elite professions[55], indicating that different social classes might migrate in different ways and for different reasons (Hauser 1985), but now Europe also figured as a destination. For many Filipinos, my interviewees in particular, this export of human capital, particularly that to the regional NICs, is most galling[56]. They see the trained and competent products of Philippine education in demand and helping to fuel economic growth, a process that has largely by-passed their own country. Almost every interviewee believed that migration was now such a dominant force in the culture of Philippine education that students would identify it as their preferred ambition, or see it as the main mechanism to obtain the rewards associated with their expected qualification level. They thus felt that education, itself, might be imparting attitudes which fostered migration, a possibility the current study sought to investigate.

Since the late 1960s, encouragement of migration for work has been an official policy in the Philippines (Swinterton 1991). During the Marcos era overseas contract workers (OCWs) were required by law to repatriate a percentage of their declared earnings through prescribed banking channels. This achieved two ends. First, it increased the nation's foreign currency earnings and secondly, it ensured significant guaranteed earnings for the President and his cronies who controlled the banks in question (CIIR 1987). During the period of debt and adjustment, when markets for Philippine export crops declined, OCWs became the country's main export industry and were hailed by politicians and church leaders alike as national heroes for their contribution to the economy (CIIR 1987).

Why Filipinos migrate and the mechanisms by which they do so were believed by many of the interviewees to hold the key to understanding some of the shortcomings of Philippine education. Some interviewees maintained that migration was primarily an escape from a

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[55] As early as 1969, for instance, it was estimated that 40% of practising Filipino medics were outside the Philippines, with most going to the US (Cortes 1993:90-109).
[56] Returning migrants may help to fuel growth in the longer term, however (Baum 1994, McDonald 1994)

society in which the migrant feels alienated. An inappropriate education has transmitted inappropriate attitudes and values, including a colonial mentality and a lack of national pride. The former is fuelled by the retention of English as the medium of instruction, whilst the latter is fuelled by a false consciousness whereby OCWs are seen as national heroes. Migrants are seen as cheap skilled labour, whose human capital is exported to a country which then benefits from the skills that Philippine education developed.

Other commentators see migration as a safety valve for middle class discontent (Bello et al 1984; Wurfel 1988; Denton 1993). Migration, and the government policy which promotes it, are means of reducing the numbers of ambitious middle class graduates who, if their aspirations are not met, have the potential to become a focus for political discontent (FEER 1996). Some commentators maintain that poor quality higher education actively promotes migration (Clignet 1980; Adepoju 1981; Dasgupta 1981; Intal 1995). Graduates' expectations are raised (Parnwell 1993), but their qualifications only allow them access to low status and low paid jobs locally, jobs they are unwilling to take (Sabot 1982, 1982a; Coombs 1985; Cortes 1993). By virtue of their skills in English, however, such graduates are able to fulfil many roles elsewhere, often at a status below their qualification level, but usually with earnings beyond what they could achieve in the Philippines. This might explain why female graduates, for instance, prefer employment as maids in Hong Kong or retail staff in the Gulf than take low status, low paid salaried positions in the Philippines, even when these are available (FEER 1996; Snow 1983; Standing 1992).

Theoretical mechanisms of migration can also shed some light on migrants' behaviour. The "gravitational model", whereby migration is heaviest to nearby destinations and lighter to those further afield, with the more educated generally travelling further, fits the Philippine scenario well. The largest single destination of Filipino migrants, for instance, is the Malaysian state of Sabah, which many Filipinos actually regard as part of their own

country (Prasai 1993). Some 80% of those migrants, however, are educated to at least secondary level, a proportion far higher than in the population as a whole (Stahl 1985; Prasai 1993). Large numbers of less skilled migrants, such as construction workers, move elsewhere in ASEAN. This model, however, seems to be primarily descriptive and does not consider the migrants' motives or the mechanisms that assist the migration.

The Lewis model (cited in Toye 1987) provides a supply and demand mechanism for migration. Demand for labour in the growing urban sector attracts migrants from the labour-surplus rural areas, explaining rural-urban migration patterns in some societies, though not the Philippines, where there already exists a large pool of under-employed or unemployed urban labour. It may help to explain, however, in push and pull terms (Ogawa et al 1993), the propensity of educated Filipinos to migrate elsewhere in ASEAN. Destinations have skill deficits, thereby providing the pull, whilst lack of opportunity to achieve desired earnings levels at home provides the push. Education facilitates the move, since the destination country needs specific skills, not just general labour.

The Harris-Todaro model (cited in Pomfret 1982; Harris and Sabot 1982) suggests that the stimulus to migrate comes from expected or perceived benefits at the destination, explaining why rural-urban migration might continue even when there is significant urban and even educated unemployment[57]. The pull factor is the possibility of obtaining a desired earnings level that may exist at the destination. Migrants collect information about their destination and evaluate the potential benefits of the move (Cadwallader 1992).

Information from existing migrants is important in assisting the decision, suggesting that there might be a greater tendency to migrate amongst those with migrant relatives or

[57] It has been argued by Ogawa and Suits (1985) that the model does not fit with migration patterns in ASEAN countries.

acquaintances. This network facilitation of migration might even extend to overseas workers securing a position for new migrants through their own local contacts (Pryor 1975; Portes and Walton 1981; Griffiths 1988).

Step-wise or chain migration (Cant 1979) suggests a series of relatively small changes. The migrant might first move internally and then perhaps overseas. Rejected by Perez (1985) as not applicable to internal migration in the Philippines, it may still have relevance in international migration, since the concentration of higher education in Metro Manila requires large numbers of students to make an initial move to pursue their studies, perhaps constituting the first step in the process (Chiswick 1982; Azripe 1986; Swinterton 1991; Zablan 1994). If applicable, this ought to be observable in the attitudes of those students who have already made the move.

Adding to the push factors in migration is compulsion, both economic and political (Pryor 1970; Peek 1981). During the 1980s, terms of trade deteriorated seriously for rural Filipinos and prices increased markedly, so the option of subsistence or wage-labour agriculture ceased to exist for many. In addition, on-going insurgency by the New People's Army and Muslim separatists displaced large numbers (Chapman 1987; Children 1990).

Migration may also be the mechanism which funds education. Since education is seen as the prime way of securing social mobility, and since education is expensive, some families rely on remittances from overseas to fund the process (Lipton 1982). It is possible that Philippine education is being offered at a cost which the local economy cannot sustain and is therefore driven by the higher salaries of migrants. This may produce two results, namely higher dropout as a result of inability to pay and more migration, stimulated by the need for funds for more education. In either case, migration and the education system are strongly related. Again, this effect ought to be observable.

Researching attitudes towards migration amongst participants in Philippine higher education is therefore an important aspect of this study. It indicates whether the national-political attitude formation goals are being achieved. If students express a desire to migrate because of an alienation from Philippine society or a desire to associate with "foreign" culture, then education is clearly not generating some of the values it expressly sets out to teach. If Filipinos migrate to achieve the employment status they desire, then the education system is clearly inculcating modern values of ambition and self-actualisation. If the motive is to attain an earnings level, but without the status suggested by the migrants' qualification level, this might give evidence of either credentialism or the need to fund more education. If higher education students do not wish to migrate, however, but feel they have to, this would indicate strong push factors. There is also the possibility that education stimulates migration by being part of a step-wise process. Migration tends to happen at key points in the individual's life cycle, with graduation from college being one of them (Schultz TP 1982; James 1985; Clarke 1986). It is possible, as many interviewees indicated, that Philippine education actually encourages students to migrate and equips them with the credentials to facilitate it (Portes and Walton 1981). Finally, by questioning higher education students about migrant family members, it might be possible to identify whether intention or willingness to migrate is linked to networked knowledge or support. It also would identify whether attitudes towards migration are linked to social class or education level.

3.7. Conclusion

Chapter Three has described Philippine education system, its unique characteristics and the reforms of the 1980s. Philippine education has always displayed a dualistic nature and this was perhaps stronger after the reforms. Filipinos equate higher cost in education with

higher quality, and the increased marketisation of education during the reform period accentuated stratification by cost.

Attitudinal research within the Philippines has suggested another kind of dualism, with the more educated identified with modern attitudes such as individualism, ambition and materialism, and the less educated with respect for authority, levelling and the sense of shared responsibility to preserve smooth social relations.

There are indications that the education system has credentialist characteristics, with qualifications often regarded as entrance requirements for higher status courses. There is also evidence that employers recruit graduates from specific disciplines or institutions. All of these points suggest that Philippine education is characterised by diploma disease, credentialism and an employment queue, with migration of educated Filipinos being a possible consequence. It may be that education, itself, encourages migration, either by attitudinal change or via the raising of expectations, with the role of the English language an important consideration. Education may therefore be draining national resources and a significant contributory factor to the country's poor economic performance.

The current study examines Philippine education's contribution to attitude and value formation. It investigates the previously observed broad differences between the more and less educated and aims to identify attitudes and values associated with the more educated. A series of first language interviews seeks to establish whether different attitudinal characteristics exist amongst a less educated group. The results of these two aspects of the research are then contrasted. It is possible, of course, that Philippine education is so deeply dualistic and so clearly credentialist that both the more and less educated groups have doubts about whether education is able to deliver on many of its attitudinal goals. If, on the other hand, there is effectively no difference between the more and less educated groups,

and both groups appear to be equally modern in outlook, then the whole idea of whether education promotes attitudinal change would be in question.

The most important modern attitude is the belief in the necessity of education, itself, and in its ability to confer useful skills and thereby merit and potential social mobility. The evidence reviewed suggests that there endures an almost unquestioning belief in the value of education amongst Filipinos, but this might have changed in recent years. Participants are surely aware of higher costs, fewer employment opportunities, educated unemployment, ineffective or perhaps counter-productive educational reform, dualism and credentialism, poor quality and the propensity of the educated to migrate. Any departure from the predicted belief in education, therefore, needs to be examined.

Allocative ability is another crucial skill which modernisers require education to foster. Students with higher education, therefore, ought to be aware of their own status, their likelihood of gaining employment and the associated rewards. Equally, they ought to be aware of disparities within education, of the existence of elite and non-elite structures and of the consequences of these differences. Furthermore, a simple comparison of the students' choice of course with their stated ambition would indicate how deeply credentialist the system is. If students have good allocative skills, then they will be aware of the opportunities that exist. If the educated envisage employment unrelated to their specialisation, this might indicate an appreciation of the system's credentialist nature. If the more educated clearly do not demonstrate allocative skills, then the system is failing to promote modern attitudes and values.

The attitudes and values expressed by the participants in the survey, of course, might arise from parents, social status, or ethnicity. Equally, if education does contribute to their formation, the type or quality of education received may also be a factor. The survey,

therefore, needs to check whether particular attitudes are associated with the students' background, or particular educational experience.

Finally, attitudes towards migration need to be examined. Do Filipino graduates want to migrate because the system teaches foreign cultural capital? Do they consider migration in response to a lack of opportunities at home? Is the accommodation of migration linked to particular levels of education? And what role does the system's use of English play? Also, by establishing how closely respondents are associated with existing migrants, it might be possible to identify common mechanisms of migration. These questions are addressed via surveys and interviews, whose structure and content are described in Chapter Four.

Chapter Four

Methodology

4.1 Introduction

Chapter Four relates how the questions identified in Chapters Two and Three were researched via an extended collaborative project using contrasting methods, including questionnaires, in-depth interviews and a focus group discussion. Both the direction of the research and the final form it took were products of a lengthy period of discussion with partners and informants in the Philippines following previous collaboration on the effects of international debt on Philippine education. Section 4.2 details some of the meetings and consultations that helped to define the current study. Though attitudinal goals for education have been identified via consideration of theory, it was their relevance to the Philippines in the 1990s that provided the guiding principle for the research, especially those aspects of attitudinal change which might promote "foreign" cultural capital and possibly encourage migration. It was therefore necessary to devise a study that would address specific characteristics of the country's educational system.

A questionnaire was developed to examine attitudes and values held by students in higher education (HE). The survey group was selected because they had successfully progressed through the primary and secondary sectors, and if education does inculcate particular attitudinal changes, then they ought to be manifest in this group. Furthermore, since they are directly involved with particular institutions and courses of study, they ought to be keenly aware of any dysfunctions of the system. The questionnaire therefore sought to identify the attitudinal characteristics of a sample of HE students and to establish if there existed any doubts concerning the role of education, perhaps questioning the assumption that it confers merit and provides opportunity for higher earnings and social mobility. This, of course, was the crucial attitudinal change anticipated by modernisation. To identify whether certain attitudes might be held as a result of social or economic status or of

particular educational experiences, the questionnaire also elicited details of family background, parents' education level and the respondent's own educational history. Section 4.3 has a detailed description of the questionnaire and section 4.4 describes how the resulting data was analysed.

In order to examine possible contrasts between the more and less educated, it was necessary to examine attitude and value characteristics of a less educated group. Whereas the higher education students might be expected to be literate in English and used to form filling, any less educated group would not be. Chapter Three identified the ongoing poor quality of English language acquisition of most primary and secondary level students, especially amongst those who had not completed the secondary cycle. By my own definition, a student who had completed secondary education should be part of the questionnaire group, not the interview group. The research instrument for the less educated group, therefore, could not be in English nor rely on written responses. An in-depth interview in Tagalog was therefore chosen as the preferred method. Details of the interview process are given in section 4.5.

As a means of triangulating both the questionnaire and interview data, an in-depth discussion was held with a group of urban poor residents of a barrio in Quezon City. The rationale for including this meeting in the research design is given in section 4.6. Overall, therefore, the study used a mixed methods approach which aimed to combine quantitative data from questionnaires with qualitative data obtained from interviews and the focus group, thus enhancing the data's reliability and validity (Frechtling and Sharp 1997).

4.2. The evolution of the study

Though it had always been an implicit goal for Philippine education, attitudinal development only became a specified goal in the 1987 constitution. In the early 1990s

evaluations of the World Bank (WB) educational reforms had begun, notably Professor Ibe's work on curriculum and Professor Doronila's work on literacy. On purely educational grounds, a project to examine attitudinal development seemed pertinent (Johnson 1977:325). Given the highly stratified nature of the education system, it was also pertinent to ask whether attitudinal development was different across different quality levels, especially since considerations of quality had been paramount within the stated goals of the reforms. In the early 1990s, all students in higher education had been educated during the reform period, assuming it started with the publication of the Presidential Commission to Survey Philippine Education (PCSPE) in 1970. The challenge, therefore, was to devise a study, which could accomplish the desired evaluation of attitudinal development, identify education's specific contribution and provide contrasts across different qualities and quantities of educational experience.

It was never the intention to do more than describe the attitudinal change associated with exposure to education, rendering the study descriptive (Heuser and Peterson 2005; Sanders and McCormick 1993). No attempt was made to carry out explanatory work in order to establish causal relationships or to quantify particular attitudinal characteristics. The study did try to establish the extent to which an attitudinal trait was associated with particular groups or educational experience, but it was never the intention to measure this difference. Identifying, naming and classifying attitudinal characteristics associated with education, however, is a form of explanation (Benjamin 1941), especially when this description takes account of the specific social context (Berliner 2002; McGuire 1986) and the methods are matched to the research objectives (Bain 1928; Sjoberg 1951).

Attitudinal development characteristics of education could be contrasted with previous studies, especially those by Guthrie (1971), Lynch (1984) and Manalang (1977), concentrating on the attitudinal transformations theoretically ascribed to education

identified in Chapter Two. To be relevant to the 1990s, however, the study had to differ from previous work, despite the advantages of using a well-established existing scale (Slavin 1984:87). It need not use mass media participation as a subject, for instance, as Kahl (1968), Lerner (1958) and McClelland (1961) had done. In the 1950s and 1960s, when television and radio ownership or access in the Third World was rare, mass media participation may have been a relevant area to contrast individual attitudes. In the Philippines in the 1990s, where some jeepneys boasted on-board videos and full time radio as a minimum, this no longer seemed relevant. Surveying student attitudes to information technology (IT) and the emerging internet may have been a relevant alternative, but this was rejected. It was assumed that richer students might have IT access and poorer ones would not and it was not an issue that arose from consultations with Filipino partners. Also, mass education in the Philippines did not at the time provide IT access.

A second area excluded from this study was the contrast between rural and urban settings. Though the Philippines remains a largely agrarian society, the point has been made that most Filipinos are closely linked to urban centres and are fully aware of urban life (Guthrie 1971; Ogawa 1985). Where this may have been an issue in earlier decades, consultation with partners confirmed that in the 1990s it was socio-economic class which would provide the most useful attitudinal contrast, not rural or urban background. Furthermore, if it was education's contribution to attitudinal change that was important, any rural-urban difference would merely be "noise", obscuring the real focus. The study, therefore, dealt only with urban dwellers and focussed on Metro Manila, which is home to a third of all the Philippines' higher education students (Swinterton 1991). In summary, the study aimed to:

- identify current attitudinal development and contrast this with previous studies
- identify differences in attitudinal development between the more and less educated

to identify the specific role of education, and

- contrast attitudinal development across different educational quality levels, identify and assess any differences.

My partners in the Philippines helped to define the study and to facilitate it, rendering them "key informants", in Frechtling and Sharp's (1997) terminology. As stated in Chapter One, my involvement with the Philippines began in the early 1980s and I had contact with many non-governmental organisations (NGOs), academics, writers and commentators. Previous collaboration assisted an earlier dissertation (Spires 1991), from which the current study grew. Different parties, of course, had different interests. The Alliance of Concerned Teachers (ACT) and the trade union group Kilusang Mayo Uno (KMU) were primarily concerned with the role of teachers and the deterioration in their pay and conditions. Differences in education quality also interested them, since they indicated different working conditions. ACT were particularly interested in values education, specifically in those values perceived as "foreign" and associated with the external nature of the reforms, with a major concern being that teachers were being asked to create exportable labour (Swinterton 1991:6). The perceived characteristic of the system, that it promoted an alien cultural capital which engendered migration, was expressed by many of those I consulted and so this was incorporated as a significant element in the research.

Education Forum (EF), an informal grouping of educational and other professionals, political activists and NGO workers, had already produced curriculum documents designed to provide an alternative to the World Bank-inspired texts (Education Forum 1986). EF members were also primarily interested in the cultural capital aspect of education, though another area of concern for them was widening access to higher quality education. I consulted regularly with several members of EF throughout the research project and these individuals were always available for advice or clarification as the data gathering progressed. Since EF is an informal grouping, contact was always via individuals, whereas

with other NGOs, such as ACT or KMU, I met with particular officers, not necessarily the same person, on each visit.

Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC), an NGO campaigning for debt reduction and publicising issues relating to structural adjustment, was primarily interested in changes in quality and how these affected attainment across social classes. In addition, they had an overall interest in education's contribution to national development. Consequently, they were particularly interested in attitudes toward migration, since their institutional stance labelled this as "reverse aid" at a time when debt service was forcing cuts in public services, such as education (Briones 1989). On the overall nature of structural adjustment and its associated education policies, Sarah Graham-Brown of the British Refugee Council assisted. She had recently completed a book on the issue and this is referenced in the text.

The women's group GABRIELA was primarily interested in access and whether educational reforms had affected women. Because this would have formed an entire research project in itself, this angle was not pursued beyond examining attitudinal difference by gender. Certainly in higher education access for women has always been good in the Philippines and it did not appear that the relative position of women had changed significantly during the reform years (Standing 1992). GABRIELA members remained interested in the research, however, since their organisation has a fundamental interest in formal education.

Initiatives for International Dialogue (IID) and MAASAI were small NGOs working with people's groups, tenants' organisations and urban poor, especially in Manila. Because of the quality of their networks, I had used both organisations during the 1991 project (Spires 1991), when they had assisted in making contact with educators at all levels to provide feedback on the effects of educational reforms at the grassroots. Dalie Garcia of IID had

created the organisation to undertake initiatives in non-formal education. Since her own collaborators were also involved with formal education, she became interested in the current study and was subsequently employed by me for a year to conduct the interviews, with IID, MAASAI, EF, ACT and GABRIELA involved in suggesting interviewees. Almost all the groups mentioned are nationalist and politically left of centre.

I also looked to a number of academics and professionals for further guidance, including a number of individuals who had been involved with the educational reforms since their inception and who remained sympathetic to their aims. Some of these individuals, of course, were also members of NGOs, such as Dr E Villegas of the Economics Department of the University of the Philippines (UP), Manila, who was also active in Ibon Databank, a well known and respected NGO publishing and interpreting economic and social data. Dr Villegas and his colleague Professor Simbulan, the author of several books on Philippine politics, both placed the "foreign" nature of the education system as their prime concern. They described how many UP Manila graduates migrated for work and saw this as reverse aid, since the cost of education in UP was born by the state[58]. They were interested to examine if there was a link between values learned and willingness to migrate.

Two other important contacts were Josepha Francisco and Fe Mangahas, both of Women's Studies Centers in Miriam and St Scholastica's Colleges respectively. Though gender was not an independent line of enquiry in the study, they offered invaluable context. Ms Francisco described teacher-related and education quality issues at first hand, especially those relating to reforms in De La Salle University, which had provoked opposition from both staff and students. Ms Mangahas, an academic, journalist and writer, had recently completed a study on migrant behaviour, illustrating the role of extended family networks.

[58] See also Trainer (1989)

She was also keen on identifying the foreign value systems at work in education, maintaining that these promoted a migration mentality. She was insistent that at least one element of the research should have the potential to examine the richness of family relations, and was clear that the proposed questionnaire could not do this. She, therefore, helped to define the eventual mixed method approach to ensure its capability of providing some contextualised insights into peoples' behaviour and motivation (Gay 1990; Morgan and Spanish 1984; Maykut and Morehouse 1994).

Of all the people involved in the study, Professor Canieso-Doronila of UP Diliman Education Research Department had the most influence on its eventual direction. She was completing a functional literacy survey (Canieso-Doronila and Acuña 1994) and was conducting a study on the social profile of UP students. She was interested in comparing her own study against one that surveyed different educational quality levels. Her position on the neo-colonial nature of the World Bank texts, of course, has been identified (Canieso-Doronila 1989). She had met in 1993 with World Bank researcher and author, Marlene Lockheed, and had voiced her position on the perceived external agenda of the reforms. She was also concerned about dropout and educational wastage, so the eventual survey examined this area. She suggested that I should choose a suitable person to carry out the interviews, stating that as a Western male I would be inappropriate, as confirmed by Frechtling and Sharp (1997) and Weisberg et al (1989). I therefore arranged a meeting between Professor Doronila and Dalie Garcia of IID, herself a social sciences graduate from UP, and we were able to discuss possible approaches. Professor Doronila then offered me the facilities of her department for the study, thereby giving me a contact address at UP and helping to legitimise the project in the eyes of those I approached. She also gave me the status of Research Assistant in her department.

I had previously met with Professor M Ibe, Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs at UP Diliman, at a 1993 Education For All conference in Brunei, where she gave a paper evaluating the effects of the WB-sponsored secondary school curriculum reform. Though she found an improvement in test scores, she expressed her opposition to further internationally-sponsored reforms. She also described education as a stepping stone for migration and suggested that the structure of the system as well as its content might be promoting this. She confirmed that education remained a great concern for many Filipinos, but stated her belief that the country had been exporting its quality for years.

Through Professor Ibe's work, I also met with three members of the Department for Education, Culture and Sports (DECS), specialising in policy and assessment, being Dr. N Imperial, Dr. C Rivera and Dr. C Villanueva. They were able to confirm that at Ministry level there were also concerns about the non-indigenous nature of the reforms. Dr. Imperial in particular, being the policy specialist, was keen to see a study on values development and he was helpful in identifying possible institutions which would provide the desired levels of contrast. He also assisted by allowing me to refer to his recommendation when I contacted the institutions in question. All three members of DECS again identified the non-retention of graduates in the local economy as a concern.

Dr A de Guzman of the Sociology Department of UP Diliman shared his research findings on the employment of graduates, allowing me access to unpublished material. Details of his findings have been described earlier in Chapter Three. He was able to confirm, however, that the basic thrust of the current study, the contrast of different quality levels and institutions, was a valid consideration. Dr J Putzel of the London School of Economics also assisted during the entirety of the project. A writer on the Philippines, specialising at the time on agrarian reform, he was able to share insights and parallels with education, especially in relation to the role of elites.

Dr M Diokno of Development Studies, UP Diliman had also collaborated in my 1992 study and I met with her several times regarding the current project. Her main interest was in education's contribution to economic change, in particular the marked contrast between the Philippines and its ASEAN partners. The Diokno family has a significant presence in Philippine politics, with her father having been a prominent and, in his later years, an anti-Marcos senator. Through my wife's work in the 1980s, I had also come to know Horatio Morales, who had spent several years in prison under Martial Law and later became Minister for Agrarian Reform. Importantly, however, he had also been a civil servant involved in the production of the PCSPE in 1970 and was able to offer insight into how the education reform process became an externally-funded World Bank initiative. Two other prominent Martial Law detainees also offered insights. Ed de la Torre, who went on to found the Institute for Popular Democracy and later *Partido ng Bayan*, offered pertinent insights into Philippine politics, especially its elite nature. Jose Maria Sison, Chairman of the Communist Party of the Philippines was also consulted. Such contacts provided invaluable political and social context.

In De La Salle University (DLS) I met with Dr T Tullao, an economist interested in the organisational reforms of World Bank policies. He identified pre-schooling and private elementary schooling for elite students as of crucial importance, prompting the inclusion of a request for my respondents to identify their educational history. This led to significant findings, confirming Dr Tullao's belief that the language training received by elite elementary school students was an important factor in predicting attainment. He also helped to identify other issues related to quality.

Meetings and conversations with the above contacts generated a number of issues, being:

- the reform programme of the WB and IMF were seen as driven by foreign values

- the attitudes inculcated by education were encouraging a migration mentality
- the HE system - indeed the system as a whole - was stratified by quality
- students were aware of the status differentials and of the consequent earning differences
- quality throughout the system had declined during the adjustment years, with different status levels being affected differently
- research on attitudinal development was a priority
- there was a need to tailor the research to address specific attitudinal issues relevant to the Philippines in the 1990s.

Throughout, I was able to discuss the attitudinal characteristics attributed to education with my contacts who advised on how these general predictions might be manifest in the Philippines and how to phrase relevant questions to research their existence.

Institutions which might provide suitable contrasts in quality[59] were also identified. Since many of those who advised on the study were educational administrators or professionals, they were able to provide contacts, which significantly assisted my ability to negotiate participation. My partners suggested that three quality levels in Philippine higher education could be identified. All agreed that it was easy to identify a small number of elite, but large, colleges which together formed an educational "sector", comprising both state and private institutions.

The only state-funded elite college, University of the Philippines (UP), is also one of the country's largest higher education institutions and has multiple campuses. De La Salle (DLS), Ateneo and San Tomas Universities are examples of privately funded elite colleges, all of which, like most of the sector, are operated by religious orders. Since I had already

[59] Recognition of identifiable status levels across higher education institutions in the Philippines exists elsewhere (Cooney and Pacqueo-Arreza 1995).

dealt extensively with contacts in UP and DLS, these two colleges were natural choices to represent the elite sector. Founded in 1908, UP is the premier state university and offers courses across a range of academic and vocational disciplines and has its main site in Diliman, Quezon City, Metro Manila. Its own admissions test is the most widely-taken entrance test in the country, indicating that UP would be the first choice for most students. Its alumni include many of the country's leading figures in all sectors, among them several former Philippine presidents. DLS was established in 1911 and now boasts the highest academic accreditation in the country. Situated in central Manila, it offers courses in business, economics, computing, education, engineering, liberal arts and science. The university lists many top national business leaders, politicians and senior religious figures amongst its graduates. DLS also maintains its own nursery, primary and secondary schools, all charging high fees, in different areas of Metro Manila.

Another identifiable sector contrasted with the elite group. It comprised several privately funded higher education institutions based in Metro Manila, which charged relatively low fees and aimed to attract large numbers of students onto a limited range of courses. Professor Doronila identified two colleges in particular, in fact two of the largest, which she believed would provide a suitable contrast with the elite colleges. These were University of the East (UOE) and Far Eastern University (FEU). Both of these colleges had responded to the reforms of the 1970s and 1980s by strengthening the market characteristics of their course offer and expanding rapidly in those areas where demand for courses was perceived as the greatest. In order to retain competitiveness, they had also reduced fees and, it was widely believed, lowered standards and reduced quality to retain recruitment (Tiglao and Scott 1989; Fairclough 1994; McDonald 1994). UOE was founded in 1946 to train accountants. It expanded to offer business, law, medicine, engineering and education courses, having 60,000 students by 1960 and 65,000 in the mid 1970s. It was a privately funded venture from its inception. FEU, another privately funded college, was

founded in 1928, and also pioneered accountancy training, though it came to offer architecture, fine arts, arts and science, commerce, engineering, nursing, law and medicine. It had 50,000 students by the 1950s. Its mission is to be the leading private, non-sectarian institute of higher learning in the country, achieving the highest intellectual, moral and cultural standards in its principled and competent graduates. It was reorganised after 1989, phasing out engineering and computing courses to reduce costs.

Between the elite and mass education sectors, my Philippine partners identified a medium quality sector, comprising a small number of state-funded universities and a large number of privately funded institutions, which, like the elite sector, were mainly operated by religious organisations. Most of these had been established with a mission to educate poorer students, but had later recruited more elite students, according to the mechanisms described in Chapter Three. Without the traditions of the elite colleges, however, these mid-price, mid-quality colleges continued to attract students who were unable to secure a place in the elite sector, either because of the expense or the attainment levels required. Also, most of this mid-quality sector concentrated on more vocationally-orientated courses than the elite sector. The survey focused on three colleges in this sector, one private Catholic university, Adamson, one privately funded institution, Technology Institute of the Philippines (TIP) and one state-funded college, Polytechnic University of the Philippines (PUP). It was to be borne in mind that even the state-funded colleges also charged fees and the quality levels identified for the purposes of the survey, elite, mid-range and mass education providers, could also be classified on the basis of cost.

Adamson was founded in 1932, its Catholic identity manifest in a mission to promote culture and develop the whole human being. Its initial focus was on science and chemical technology, but it has since expanded into law, arts and sciences, pharmacy, nursing, education and business. It also operates its own primary and secondary schools. PUP is a

public, non-sectarian, non-profit college, focusing on applied arts and sciences, commerce, information technology and business administration, and operates on several campuses in Metro Manila. It has 50,000 students and was founded in 1904 as the Manila Business School to train officers for government service, taking university status in 1978. Many of its students are from poorer backgrounds and are supported by grants. TIP was founded in 1962. It aims at mass participation, promoting competence, knowledge and Filipino values, industry-desired values and global citizen values. It now offers courses in engineering, architecture, business, education, information technology and maritime studies.

Institutions and individuals who assisted with the eventual questionnaire delivery are listed in Table 4.1. To simplify the logistics of the data gathering, most of which had to be undertaken during two short visits to the Philippines, I focused on particular faculties in each institution, trying to obtain a contrast of study areas both across all colleges and within the quality levels. The eventual mix, which had to be highly pragmatic, contrasted engineers and political scientists at the elite level and engineers, computer scientists and business students in the mid-priced institutions. Most of those from the lower status colleges were either business or education students, which reflected the overall character of those colleges. The sample was not randomly selected and was therefore non-experimental, thereby rendering the study descriptive[60]. The formative interviews with practitioners, however, had created a significant level of familiarity with the subjects of the research, so that the eventual sample could be better described as "purposive", thereby justifying its non-probabilistic nature[61] (Maykut and Morehouse 1994:117). Also, since qualitative methods were used to clarify the content of the study, this purposive sample could potentially provide generalisable results[62].

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[60] As described at http://socialresearchmethods.net/tutorial/Colosi/colosi2.htm on 21/7/2005.
[61] As described at http://faculty.ncwc.edu/toconnor/308/308lect01.htm on 21/7/2005.
[62] As described at http://faculty.ncwc.edu/toconnor/308/308lect01.htm on 21/7/2005.

Table 4.1. Institutions and contacts participating in the questionnaire survey.

Institution	**Contact**	**Position**
De La Salle University (DLS)	Dr Belina	Dean of Engineering
University of the Philippines (UP)	Dr T. Rivera	Political Science Faculty
Adamson University (ADM)	Sister Cabel Dr Oreta Dr Co	Dean of Administration Dean of Engineering Dean of Business
Technology Institute, Philippines (TIP)	Dr Soliven Dr Zambrano	Dean of Business Business Faculty
Polytechnic University, Philippines (PUP)	Dr Cayanan	Vice-Principal for Academic Affairs
Far Eastern University (FEU)	Dr Browner Dr Capili	Dean of Education Business Studies Faculty
University of the East (UOE)	Dr San Mateo	Dean of Education

The Adamson staff members described their students as largely lower middle class, with many on religious foundation scholarships. Dean Co explained how different universities and even faculties recruited from different entrance test score bands and claimed that the students were keenly aware of institutional status. Sister Cabel identified how secondary school classrooms were often segregated by ability level, with different groups of students eliciting different kinds of teacher response. All Adamson staff identified failure and migration of graduates as areas of concern. Dean San Mateo of University of the East (UOE) identified her students as a different social class from those of De La Salle, where both Dr Tullao and Dr Belina were clear that DLS dealt only with elite students. This rendered DLS a particularly difficult institution at which to obtain access. In fact, I managed only one data gathering visit since, on the second occasion a year later, the absence of Dean Belina on long-term sick leave meant that I would have to restart the application for access.

These contacts with academics, writers, teachers and NGO representatives were conducted over a period of almost two years and began as an integral part of the previous work on educational quality (Spires 1991). They were not intended to form part of the data for the current study, for which they were formative. They were not taped, but notes were taken and stored in a journal which was kept throughout the research process, as recommended by Maykut and Morehouse (1994).

4.3. Questionnaire design, piloting and delivery

Throughout the consultation process, discussions about attitudinal change helped to identify elements to be included in the questionnaire. This was based on previous research, Goldstein and Goldstein's (1981) recommended migration questionnaire, modernisation's attitudinal goals, and specifics of the Philippine system. Professor Doronila and several others commented on the questionnaire before it was piloted, after it was piloted alongside the preliminary results and also after the data gathering had been completed, thus establishing both the face and content validity of the instrument and ensuring an appropriate use of language[63].

The literature survey in Chapter Two identified attitudinal traits and changes ascribed to exposure to formal education. A compendium of these claims for education can be found in Appendix 7. Paramount amongst these, and, according to theory, without which the entire contribution of education to personal, national and economic development would be undermined, is the necessity that a firm belief in, and commitment to education is adopted. Other attitudinal changes ascribed to education are belief that it can:

- confer merit and eventually equality by increasing opportunity for all
- develop patriotism or national consciousness
- promote individuality, self-sufficiency, decision making and reasoning skills
- promote pluralism and understanding of others
- develop an assumption that the universe is a rational place, where science and technology can be used to modify or transform natural phenomena
- weaken family ties and reduce the role of religion and fatalism in people's lives
- promote self-discipline, a work ethic and a recognition of status conferred by merit

[63] See http://home.comcast.net~icek.aizen/att.assess.pdf accessed 20/07/05

The questionnaire aimed to identify whether a selected group of higher education students did, indeed, hold these beliefs. If, however, students within the system were found to be:

- cynical about the role of education in general or in the specific areas above
- on courses where their prime interest was achieving a final qualification that they would use for entry into a different field
- resentful of learning in a foreign language or
- seeking to upgrade previously obtained qualifications

then one might conclude that some of the criticisms of education's role might apply.

Some 84 attitudinal statements or "questions" were devised, written as 42 pairs. Each pair addressed a particular attitudinal point, one from a positive and one from a negative standpoint. This was done to reduce the effects of acquiescence[64], with questions in each pair separated by random amounts, since the relative position of questions can affect responses[65]. A five point Likert scale was used with responses being Agree strongly, Agree, Don't know, Disagree, Disagree strongly (Likert 1931; Henerson et al 1997; Gay 1990), thus allowing the resulting ordinal data to be analysed as interval type[66]. The survey aimed to identify the attitudes and values actually held by the respondents, so initially no attempt was made to concentrate analysis on those questions that differentiated between responses, despite Henerson et al's (1987:86) advice. Besides providing agree-disagree data for each single statement, the prompts were written so that most of the concepts were presented more than once. For instance, students' attitudes toward migration for work were examined in four questions. Since test-retest reliability was not possible, it was hoped that this aspect of the questionnaire would provide some indicator of its reliability, since different styles of wording could be validly used to research similar attitudes across different questions (Shaeffer et al 2005).

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[64] The tendency for questionnaire respondents to agree with any statement.
[65] See http://home.comcast.net~icek.aizen/att.assess.pdf accessed 20/07/05
[66] As described at http://faculty.ncwc.edu/toconnor/308/308lect01.htm on 21/7/2005.

It is acknowledged that the attitude measurement methods outlined above have serious flaws. But it remains a method which is widely used and, despite its limitations, provided the best available and feasible means of conducting the study, as the following considerations demonstrate. Whilst attitudes, themselves, cannot be measured in any absolute sense, they may be compared, especially between groups, as this study attempts to do. Combining Likert-type responses to attitude questions assumes that the questions measure the same thing and that the scores, themselves, are comparable. This concept is in fact explicitly stated in Thurstone's (1928:531) seminal work on the subject where he describes attitudes as "the sum total of inclinations and feelings, prejudice or bias, pre-conceived notions, ideas, fears, threats and convictions about any specific topic", with opinion being a verbal expression of attitude. Searching for inter-correlations through factor analysis, however, has the potential to group together completely unrelated questions, whose combined "meaning" bears no relation to any single "attitude". Psychologists justify this by claiming the existence of underlying, latent meaning awaiting identification, with summation of scores defining groups for further study. Indeed, the investigation of correlations in data which are clearly categorical is not even a valid statistical operation (Reid 2006; Gardner 1995, 1996), whilst combined response scales actually mask important detail associated with particular questions (Osborne et al 2003).

The current study, however, used various techniques in an attempt to minimise the effects of these inherent flaws in the method. Before the attitudinal questions were drafted, the opinions of informants who knew the target population well were sought, thereby enhancing the validity of the exercise. After identifying attitudinal areas to be covered from theory, questions specific to the relevant concepts were drafted for the purpose. Several questions on each attitudinal characteristic were included for purposes of cross checking. Questions on the same area were worded from different standpoints to reduce

acquiescence (Reid 2006). Axes, or scales, representing the identified attitudinal traits were created *a priori*, based on both the question wording and the attitudinal characteristic. Factor analysis was conducted only after analysis of the *a priori* axes had been completed and, indeed, only after groupings identified via the initial analysis had themselves been investigated. In the event, as is demonstrated in Chapter Five, the factor analysis effectively reproduced most of the original axes. In some cases, factor analysis split the original axes into several factors, thereby identifying a particular word or item in the question as having provided significantly different results from others in the same axis. In addition, each question was analysed separately because it was the prime intention of the survey to identify and describe actual attitudes held by the target group and not to contrast sub-groups to trawl for statistically significant results (McGuire 1986). Furthermore, all significance tests were performed using the Spearmen-rho technique, which is preferable to Pearson for categorical data, though the difference in results generated by the two methods were minimal.

In order to clarify which attitudes and values were developed by formal education, it was necessary to identify whether the observed characteristics might originate as a result of some other factor such as social class, gender or type of educational experience. The survey therefore collected data on other aspects of each respondent. The list below shows the questionnaire's different sections.

A. Personal details - age, status, geographical origin
B. Family background
C. Education history
D. Employment history
E. Future plans and overseas migration
F. Attitude questions
G. Educational experience
H. Further comments

A copy of the questionnaire is in Appendix 1. Respondents were not asked to specify their social class, since it was assumed that this might provide inaccurate results. Instead, social

class was inferred by combining classifications of fathers' and mothers' education and employment.

The questionnaire was piloted in three institutions, De La Salle (DLS), University of the East (UOE) and Adamson University (ADM), in line with methodological advice from Dixon and Leach (1984:6), with some 22 students taking part, all being volunteers. Participants were invited by Deans at Adamson and UOE and by Student Welfare at DLS. At Adamson the pilot took place in a classroom, at UOE in a Dean's office and at DLS in the Student Welfare waiting room. All students took about 40 minutes to complete the questionnaire, with the most time-consuming sections being those asking details of previous schools and overseas workers in the family. Participants were always assured of the confidentiality of their responses, as recommended by Wilkinson and Birmingham (2003), with no question in the survey requiring identification data. The cover sheet, as can be seen in Appendix 1, carried a full and clear statement of the goals of the project, my name and contact address in UP Education Department, giving the exercise status. All involved with the pilot completed the task with apparent dedication and interest, confirming Couper's (1997) assertion, with several of those involved staying after completing the questionnaire to discuss their responses[67]. Students at UOE, all female and all education students, were initially noticeably more reluctant to ask questions, preferring to ask one another for clarification. This may have been because of the presence of a middle-aged foreign male researcher or because their Dean, Dr San Mateo, also attended. After minimal prompting, however, these students became as actively interested as those in DLS and Adamson, confirming that my own involvement might also be a factor in providing motivation to complete the task (Wilkinson and Birmingham 2003). In all three pilot locations, I kept a record of seating arrangements, questions raised and general

[67] For Eiser and van der Plight (1988) this would indicate that the respondents had considered their responses carefully and in relation to how they would act.

conditions to identify if these might have influenced responses (Maykut and Morehouse 1994), which apparently they did not.

The pilot results were assembled immediately and discussed with several Filipino educational practitioners and other interested parties[68]. All commented on the fullness and accuracy of the responses and expressed their surprise at the way the questions on migration had been answered. No consensus emerged as to which of the attitude questions might be dropped from the final design. As a result, and after further consultation with Professor Doronila, it was decided to retain all of them, despite the questionnaire taking longer to complete than the recommended 30 minutes (Wilkinson and Birmingham 2003).

In Dixon and Leach's (1984:9) terms, the eventual study aimed for an "interpenetrating sample", a large sample which could be assembled from a series of smaller ones. This was a pragmatic decision borne of limited resources and time and a desire to supervise the questionnaire delivery personally as far as possible, despite consequent threats to external validity (Slavin 1984). The aim, however, was to facilitate analysis of whether education quality level differentiated responses and whether institution-specific value systems applied, representing, in Berger and Luckman's (1984) analysis, the different institutional ethics taught by the different colleges. It has been argued that access to different levels of education in the Philippines has been and remains a major indicator and indeed determinant of social class. The current survey sought to identify whether these different layers provided educational experiences and identities which were sufficiently diverse to generate measurably different student attitudes. Cause and effect are difficult to separate, however, since the survey may be measuring only the class differences inherent in the colleges' different intakes, or even an effect of "academic ability", representing a possible

[68] Amongst others, the survey and pilot results were discussed with Dr Ibe and Prof. Doronila in UP, Sister Cabel and Deans Oreta and Co in Adamson University, Dean Belina and Dr Tullao in De La Salle, and Dean San Mateo in UOE.

threat to the internal validity of the exercise (Slavin 1984). The questionnaire was designed to elicit sufficient data to allow social class, parental education level and the students' own educational history to be identified. By contrasting attitudinal characteristics across these data it was hoped that the current study could identify an educational quality effect on attitudinal development, with continued involvement of the key informants throughout the process helping to ensure the validity of the process and instrument.

If the original design had worked, the average score across all attitude questions would have been 3, indicating a neutral position overall, since each pair of questions would have produced counterbalancing responses. After the pilot study and follow-up discussions, it became clear that some questions were not in fact read as direct opposites and that it was perfectly possible for an individual to provide answers which had originally been conceived as contradictory. Questions 1 and 75, for example, were originally conceived as opposites. These are:

1. All teaching in Philippine schools should be in Filipino.

75. There is not enough time spent on learning English.

One might assume that a person who was in favour of Filipino being used throughout the system should not agree with the second proposition. The position is not this clear, however, since the first question relates to how the respondent thinks the system ought to operate, whereas the second relates to the system as it is. It is acceptable to believe that Filipino *should* be used as the medium of instruction and at the same time to recognise that, pragmatically, one needs more English. Conversely, if one opposes the use of Filipino as the medium of instruction, there is no necessity that one also wants *more* time studying English. The only way to be sure that such potentially opposite questions were read as such was to use very similar wording across the two. This would have lead to a tedious questionnaire, so after discussion it was decided to retain the questions as they were

written and analyse the data accordingly. The data generated was thereby rendered richer, but its analysis more difficult.

A number of questions were changed to clarify what was being requested. These changes were almost exclusively replacing particular "British" words with Americanisms. An instruction to "tick" a box, for instance, became one to "check" it. A serious error of this type went unnoticed and unchanged, however, perhaps because in the pilots there was opportunity to clarify whilst during the administration sessions there was not and this clarification had not been properly acknowledged. One aspect of the research was to examine the relationship between perceived educational quality and effectiveness and class size. The research by Avalos and Haddad (1981) is often quoted in World Bank education policy documents, suggesting that once class sizes have reached 25, no quality change occurs when class sizes are increased as far as 40 students. The current study sought to identify if there was evidence for this in stated perceptions of educational quality. Two questions were included to elicit class sizes, being:

> C6. As far as you can remember, how many pupils were there in your graduating class in elementary school?

and

> C8. As far as you can remember, how many pupils were there in your graduating class in high school?

The word "graduating" was included after the pilot so that respondents gave figures that would be comparable. It was the word "class", however, that caused the problem. This should have been changed to "section". In the US system, "class" usually refers to the year, not the teaching group, so a school with a "class" of 100, for instance, might have two teaching groups or "sections" of 50, while another might have five sections of twenty. The questions, therefore, were confusing, were inconsistently answered and generated useless data which was rejected.

Discussions on refinement of the questionnaire proceeded for some weeks after the pilot study. Once finalised, it was mailed to Manila, where Dalie Garcia arranged for 500 copies to be printed. Appointments were made with the various colleges and departments, with the participating colleges actually deciding which year groups would be asked to contribute. The data gathering sessions were almost all conducted in one week during 1995, with most sessions supervised by myself alone or accompanied by a faculty member or Dean. Adamson University questionnaires were administered largely by Dean Oreta and some sessions at PUP and TIP were handled by Dalie Garcia. Some of the University of the East sessions were supervised by the students' own teachers and Dean San Mateo. Some fifty or so questionnaires could not be delivered at the arranged time, and these were later collected by Dalie Garcia and mailed to me.

All of the questionnaire delivery sessions took place in the students' timetabled teaching rooms. These varied from a well-equipped classroom with adequate space and desks (UP) to a room with noisy construction work on one side and 500 kindergarten students on the other (FEU). Some 480 questionnaires were completed, with all institutions except DLS[69] willing to arrange the delivery of more, if needed. The sample size was, however, already beyond the recommended 300[70]. Overall, participants took the activity seriously and provided full and detailed responses.

4.4. Analysis of responses

The attitudinal statements which formed Section F of the questionnaire provided the core data of the research. Other sections supplied context, allowing analysis of associations between attitudinal traits and other factors such as college type, social class, gender,

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[69] See earlier for details of Dean Belina's illness which prevented this.
[70] See http://sussex.ac.uk/Users/andyf/teaching/rm2/factor2.pdf

educational history or familiarity with migration. Data from these sections were summarised and correlations with the attitudinal data examined. Coded questionnaire responses were stored in a Microsoft Access database designed for the purpose and some arithmetic manipulation of the data was undertaken using Microsoft Excel. SPSS version 7.5.1. was used to perform statistical summaries and operations.

To identify the attitudinal characteristics of the respondents, answers to the Section F questions were coded from 1 (strong agreement) to 5 (strong disagreement). Questions were categorised as "agree" or "disagree" to identify overall attitudinal characteristics of the survey group. An "agree" question was defined as having more than 50% of agree responses, with the agree responses more than twice the disagree. The "disagree" questions had the opposite sense and all others were considered "split" questions.

As a tool for analysing more general attitudinal characteristics, groups of questions were combined *a priori* to form 36 "axes" relating to particular attitudinal traits identified in Chapter Two. Some 64 of the 84 questions were used once only in the analysis matrix, 15 were used twice and one question was used three times. Four questions were not used at all and details of these with the reasoning for their exclusion can be found in Appendix 3. The inclusion of particular questions in the axes was part of the original design, where questions were drafted to identify particular attitudinal characteristics, such as social mobility, migration and fertility. The four excluded questions simply did not fit into these broader characteristics, whilst in themselves they examined areas of interest.

Sets of responses from different identifiable sub-groups of the sample were then examined alongside these axes, which were of two types, labelled social (SOC) and educational (EDU), with question wording determining in which type data should be included. An axis of the first type included questions relating to the existence or desirability of the concept in

question to society in general[71]. The second type indicated whether respondents felt the concept was promoted by or present in the education process. Some axes had both society-wide and educational relevance (SOC/EDU) and in the definitions below, the society-wide interpretation is given first, with the specifically educational interpretation following the semi-colon. Individualism appears twice, because of the way Hofstede defines the term. The individualism axis listed first is purely about one's perceived power over one's own future and whether education develops this. Hofstede's term, the second individualism axis, includes ideas relating to the possibility of achieving greater influence and the use of personal time.

Axes of analysis used were:

- Material/career advancement (EDU) - the capacity of education to deliver material or career advancement
- Personal development (education for its own sake) (EDU) - the perception of education as personal development
- Functional effectiveness (promotes changed ways of thinking, attitudes and values or skills conducive to development) (SOC/EDU) - whether or not modern attitudes are seen as desirable for society as a whole; and whether the education process promotes the development of these attitudes
- Social mobility and greater equality, merit (SOC/EDU) - whether social mobility is possible and whether merit plays a part; whether education confers merit and promotes social mobility
- Individualism (SOC/EDU) - perceived power over one's own future; whether education promotes this quality

[71] According to Anderson (1993), the fact that personal attitudes develop as a result of their desirability in wider society indicates their generation via rational thought, itself a modernisation goal.

- Nationalism, national identity, national pride (EDU) - whether education promotes national identity
- Screening and credentialism (SOC/EDU) - whether qualification inflation operates society-wide; whether qualifications merely identify employable people
- Lower fertility (SOC) - desirability of lower birth rate and having families later in life
- Pluralism (SOC/EDU) - whether society benefits from pluralist outlook; whether education teaches how to cope with different ideas
- Modernity (SOC/EDU) - desirability of modernisation; whether education promotes rural modernisation
- Power difference – distance from power, permanence of power structures, unwillingness to question authority (SOC/EDU) - Hofstede's axis assessing perception of power and class differences; whether education relies on knowing your place
- Uncertainty avoidance – anxiety, future orientation, stress, resistance to change jobs, loyalty, larger organisations, low mobility, hierarchies (SOC/EDU) -Hofstede's index assessing respect for rules and authority and unwillingness to take risks; whether education reduces conflict
- Individualism – personal time, independence, small companies preferred, calculative involvement, freedom, universalism, own ends (SOC) - Hofstede's index, interpreting individuality more widely in terms of associated ideas as shown
- Masculinity – excelling, decisiveness, living to work, possessions, materialism (SOC/EDU) - Hofstede's index indicating materialism and status; whether education promotes ideas of materialism and status
- Relevance - (SOC/EDU) - whether human capital is central to national development; whether education is considered useful in developing it
- Standards & Quality (EDU) - whether educational standards are perceived as higher than in the past

- Rote learning (EDU) - whether the education experience relies on rote learning or non-traditional methods
- Free trade orientation (SOC) - willingness to tolerate involvement of foreign interests in the national economy
- Migration (SOC/EDU) - wanting to stay at home for work; whether education helps people find work overseas
- Language in Filipino (EDU) - language preference, agreement indicating preference for Filipino over English
- Opportunity (SOC) - perceived employment possibilities, agreement indicating many opportunities
- Education as investment (SOC/EDU) - whether education is perceived as an investment for the nation as a whole; whether or not paying for education will benefit the individual
- Fatalism (SOC) - reliance on luck
- Wide access (SOC) - whether access to education should be wide or narrow agreement indicating wide access

Correlations between these axes and social class, college type and gender could be examined.

The attitudinal data were also subjected to factor analysis, based on Principal Component Analysis with Varimax rotation. Before this was attempted, however, checks were made on reliability measures for the data. A Cronbach alpha statistic was computed for the data set as a whole, which reported 0.8058 on the 84 items. The split-half statistic overall was in excess of 0.72, above the 0.7 level recommended by Henerson et al (1987). Inter-correlations were examined and five reductions were carried out on the basis of removal of items with inter-correlations less than 0.2 and removal of further items where the alpha

statistic would be increased[72]. Eventually, some 44 items of the original 84 were removed and the eventual Cronbach alpha for the remaining 40 items was 0.8085. It is recommended that this figure should be at least 0.8 for a scale to be considered reliable[73].

After reduction, factor analysis identified 34 factors, accounting for 93.8% of the variance, with a Kaiser-Meier-Olkin (KMO) statistic of 0.753 and a significant Bartlett test of sphericity (chi square = 3028). Both statistics indicated that factor analysis could be attempted with the data[74]. Attempts were made to reduce the number of factors, but, as confirmed by the scree plot, which was quite flat, these merely reduced the percentage variance explained and were thus rejected[75]. The extracted factors were then compared with the original analysis axes and, as will be explained in Chapter Five, seven of these disappeared in this process, since the questions on which they were based were removed. Some 19 of the extracted factors corresponded very closely indeed with remaining *a priori* axes. Correlation analysis of the extracted factors showed a very similar pattern to that for the *a priori* axes, confirming a small but observable difference between the effects of college status or received education quality and social class.

Two questions were retained in the questionnaire, despite their being essentially the same. These were numbers 33 and 67, dealing with whether highly paid jobs went only to the elite. Analysis of the responses to these questions showed the expected high correlation (r=0.6), but some 158 subjects (33%) gave different responses to these questions. Overall, however, both questions elicited a "split" response. Questionnaires with differing responses to these two questions were identified and analysed. No significant characteristics could be

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[72] See http://sussex.ac.uk/Users/andyf/teaching/rm2/factor2.pdf

[73] See http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Users/andyf/teaching/rm2/reliability.pdf and http://www.sussex.ac.uk/Users/andyf/teaching/rm2/factor.pdf#search='questionnaire%20factor%20analysis%20spss' accessed 22/7/05

[74] See http://www.abdn.ac.uk/~psy042/dept/stats/FA.htm

[75] As recommended by http://psychology.about.com/gi/dynamic/offsite.htm?site=http%3A%2F%2Fwww.statsoftinc.com%2Ftextbook%2Fstathome.html

identified on any of the variables. Neither was there any identifiable pattern in responses to questions immediately before or after this pair. The two questions eventually emerged together as a factor, however. It was likely, as Zaller and Feldman (1992) suggest, that the process of completing the questionnaire was stimulating consideration of attitudes which were not fixed and which were selected from a range of subjective thoughts and feelings in mind at the time. This in no way weakens the study or its conclusions, since attitudes and values are not fixed (Henerson et al 1987:13). If education does promote particular types of attitude, the tendency for these to be prevalent in the data is what is sought, not a complete consistency across all responses.

4.5. Interviews

The study required that the results arising from the questionnaire survey be triangulated with and informed by different perceptions of education. The question arose as to what methodology would be appropriate to accomplish this and what group to target. From the beginning, it was intended that the study should contain an ethnographic element. This was in line with the belief expressed by King (1991) and others (Gay 1990; Wiarda 1992) that educational thinking, policy and research has been dominated by assumptions that are never questioned or researched, and that more work is needed on the role of education in peoples' lives, especially in poor communities (ISEAS 1986). Mixed methods approaches are capable of addressing some of these gaps in understanding (Frechtling and Sharp 1997). It was assumed that the current study could claim no valid findings in relation to the overall role of education in attitude formation unless it involved people who had experienced less contact with education than the survey group. Suitable subjects, however, might not be fluent in English or functionally literate. Neither would they be easy to identify, contact or survey. A foreign researcher, especially a white male, entering a poor barrio in Manila and asking about educational experiences might generate interest, but not the kind that would produce meaningful data. The process demanded tact, planning and

careful selection of subjects, thus rendering the interview sample "purposive", but in a different way from the questionnaire sample. The topics covered in the research would have to be similar to those on the questionnaire for purposes of triangulation. The imposition of a rigid structure to the data gathering, however, would have missed the opportunity to access the potential richness of peoples' experience and risked interviewee acquiescence (Narayan and Krosnik 1996). An interview format was chosen to allow the interviewer flexibility to pursue any point of interest whilst retaining a checklist of items to be covered (Powney and Watts 1987; Schober and Conrad 1997). The interview data had to be triangulated against the survey data so it was also necessary to carry out some ethnographic work with interviewees of a similar educational and social background to those who had completed the questionnaire. Such interviews would necessarily provide particularistic data, "real" cultural realities in Silverman's (1985:157) terms, but they had to be sufficiently rigorous to generate analysable data (Frechtling and Sharp 1997).

A large scale ethnographic study was beyond the project's resources, so although this section of the research was crucial, it was impossible to conduct a survey of a scale or depth which, in itself, could claim internal validity. Interviews conducted could only be an attempt at ethnographic work, since there were not enough resources to work with a sufficiently numerous or diverse group of respondents. Neither would it be possible to carry out much work outside Manila. All of the significant attitude surveys in the Philippines have concentrated on rural-urban contrasts, however. A focus solely on urban residents thus gave the current study a quite different slant from previous work and, indeed, increased the possibility that any observed attitudinal contrasts were the result of exposure to education, rather than other factors. A small-scale study was therefore designed, which could both link with the material obtained from other studies to indicate consistency and triangulate with the survey results to validate and contextualise them. Only

if the interviews generated unforeseen or unexpected responses would they require further internal and external validation (Meetoo and Temple 2003).

A part-time Manila-based Philippine researcher was employed for one year to assist in the project. Her role was to contact suitable interviewees[76], conduct the interviews and transcribe the results into English. The researcher was experienced in social survey work, being a social science graduate from the University of the Philippines and experienced in research work on behalf of NGOs. After many years of work on social and development issues, she was already aware of the basic areas which the current study was to investigate. In addition, this was not the first project on which we had collaborated, so she understood much of the direction and purpose of the current study from its inception. We decided that a full verbatim transcript of interviews would not be necessary, since this would have to be in Tagalog and would be of no use to myself, so we decided that she should translate and transcribe only summaries of what she recognised as both relevant and substantive. All the interviews were taped (Maykut and Morehouse 1994) and these tapes were then played back and discussed with another Tagalog-speaking community worker with many years of experience of working with urban poor communities. The opinions expressed by the respondents were then summarised in English translation. Where particular idioms or ideas lacked a direct English equivalent, the original Tagalog word was to be included also and its meaning and significance were addressed in detail during meetings to review the material. We thus ensured that any point requiring detailed analysis was addressed, thereby preserving the complexity of the interviewees' responses[77]. This process of selection and reduction of the material concentrated the interview data and formed an essential part of understanding its significance (Frechtling and Sharp 1997). Typed English summaries of the interviews were mailed to me as they were completed. A detailed analysis of the

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[76] As explained earlier, several NGOs and other contacts assisted in identifying potential interviewees.
[77] As recommended by Boeree at http://www.ship.edu/~cgboeree/qualmeth.html on 20/7/05

material was conducted as each one was received, so the process became one of iteration and refinement. The overall findings were therefore available for verification with both of the people involved in their transcription on my next visit to the Philippines.

Some twenty in-depth interviews were completed - one every two weeks or so over a ten month period. Some interviews involved small groups, but most were individual. Each interview took two to three days to complete[78], given the need to identify respondents, travel to and from the interview, conduct it, listen to the tape, identify substantive points, translate the relevant material, type it into English and finally to have a third party check the result against the tape. Interviewees were drawn from a variety of social, economic and educational backgrounds, but mainly from the urban poor and lower status public sector workers.

4.6. Focus group

Focus groups are often used to triangulate results from surveys and interviews by providing in-depth material impossible to collect in a survey, and insight through interaction, which tends not to happen in individual interviews (Morgan and Spanish 1989; Frechtling and Sharp 1997). Wilson (1997) offers a series of criteria for organising such meetings and the group discussion which was held for the current project satisfied all of these. In particular, whilst Wilson recommends the process be rigorous and systematic, it should also utilise the unique values and experiences and skills that are available. As will be seen below, the current project achieved this.

A meeting was arranged with representatives from a poor urban community in Quezon City. The purpose of this session was to understand the context within which poorer urban

[78] Powney and Watts (1987) recommend allowing 15 hours per interview, even without translation.

families live and the prevalent attitudes toward education. This was essential because I, myself, had had no direct involvement with the interviews, the analysis of which was by then complete. The meeting therefore provided a face-to-face triangulation of the interview results, since those at the meeting could express agreement or surprise at the opinions presented. Details of the notes made during and immediately after this meeting can be found in Appendix 5. The meeting was facilitated in Tagalog by the community worker who had discussed the interview tapes with the interviewer. He was therefore fully aware of the aims of the session and could identify when opinions of the focus group might differ from the interview subjects (Mansell et al 2004). He was also trusted by the people in the barrio concerned, since he had served as a community worker in the area for some years.

The use of the focus group completed the mixed methodology of the research. Such groups have been described as "conversations with a purpose" (Maykut and Morehouse 1994) and this particular group operated in exactly that way. I was able to use the experience to seed the discussion with preliminary findings from both the questionnaire data and interviews, thus triangulating and clarifying the findings[79].

The group discussion proved so rich, however, that it provided a separate source of primary data on education's role in attitude formation. It was only through this group that I came to understand the essential role that education is seen to play in a person's life chances alongside the poor community's expressed inability to secure the educational quality required to affect those chances. What also became clear were the economic necessities that underpinned not only each family's participation in education, but also the participation of individual family members. This, apparently, leads to significant tensions both within and between families, especially when a particular child, usually first born or male, was receiving higher cost education.

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[79] As described by Gibbs A. at http://www.soc.surrey.ac.uk/sru/SRU19.html accessed 19/7/05

The individuals who participated in the group were neighbours, in that they all lived in the Santo Domingo area of Quezon City. Potential participants had been invited some days earlier by the community worker and a self-selected group assembled for the meeting. This, according to Morgan and Spanish (1984), has no methodological consequences. The group size conformed to that recommended to achieve the purpose of generating insights through interactions (Maykut and Morehouse 1994). Tagalog was the meeting's main language, with my introductions and questions being translated by the community worker, a format recommended by Mansell et al (2004). Some of those present did have some English, however, and participants often inserted an English word in their responses for my benefit to offer clarification or simply confirmation for me that they were engaging directly with the subject of the discussion. The meeting therefore retained cultural sensitivity and was able to examine what people felt and crucially *why* they felt that way (Kitzinger 1995; Barbour 2005). The overall findings of the research were significantly affected by this meeting, since it revealed that the concept of *pakikisama* or smooth inter-personal relations, as described in Chapter Three, is best understood in an economic, rather than purely cultural context.

4.7. Conclusion

Chapter Four has described the methodology employed in the research. It has identified how the study developed from previous work on educational quality in the Philippines into a study of attitudinal development, an aspect of the reform programme that had previously not been researched. It has described how a mixed method programme of data gathering was used in order to combine the quantitative potential of a questionnaire survey with the more detailed and in-depth approach of interviews and group discussion. Throughout, data from all three methods were intended to inform and triangulate an understanding of how education contributes to attitudinal development in the Philippines and whether different

attitudinal characteristics are engendered by different educational experiences. The results of the research are now presented in Chapter Five.

Chapter Five

Findings from survey and interviews

5.1. Introduction

Chapter Five presents the results and analysis of the empirical data according to the methodology identified in Chapter Four. The questionnaire results are presented first followed by a discussion of the interviews. Questionnaire data are presented section by section so that an overall picture of the respondents is established before analysis of their attitudinal characteristics is considered. Interview data are presented in summary form. Examples of complete interview transcripts can be found in Appendix Six. Essentially this is a picture of the respondents' attitudinal and other characteristics and identifies differences by class, gender, college type and educational history. In Chapter Six, this picture is interpreted with judgments made as to what kind of attitudinal development Philippine education promotes.

5.2. Questionnaire results

Some 480 students in seven universities were surveyed as described in Chapter Four. The questionnaire was administered on each occasion and the response rate was 100%, with most students completing in about 40 minutes. Since it was presented under near examination conditions, there was limited opportunity for respondents to interact.

Some questionnaires were incomplete, however, with the respondents clearly having become disaffected with the experience. These were almost all from education students in University of the East, a session that was administered by the students' own teacher, with whom the group appeared to have a less than perfect relationship. Every response provided complete demographic, educational and employment data, but some 14 had more than 8 of the 84 attitudinal questions blank, so they were excluded from the analysis, leaving 466 complete or near complete responses to Section F of the questionnaire. Overall, some

1.08% of all Section F questions were blank. After omitting the 14 with more than 10% blank responses, there remained about 30 unanswered questions among the approximately 40,000 responses. For analysis purposes, these were entered as "Don't know" and probably represent questions where the respondent was genuinely undecided or where the question was not understood, since these were clearly not left blank as a result of fatigue or lack of interest. They represent such a small proportion of the responses (0.08%) that they can not affect the significance of any of the results.

5.2.1. Section A: Personal details

The respondents were predominantly female (72%), with only one college, Adamson, having a sample with a male majority (57%), where all students surveyed were from engineering courses. The proportion of female respondents is in line with the characteristics of higher education (HE) in the Philippines, where college surveys show about two thirds of the college population is female (FEU 1995; Doronila and Carino 1993). This suggests that women in the Philippines were not disadvantaged by public expenditure cuts during structural adjustment, as had happened elsewhere (Sen and Grown 1987; Standing 1992). Details of the respondents' answers are in Table 5.1.

Table 5.1. Gender of respondents, overall and by college.

College	Female	Male	Total	% Female	% Male
All	345	135	480	72	28
Adamson (ADM)	40	53	93	43	57
De La Salle (DLS)	4	4	8	50	50
Far Eastern (FEU)	55	22	77	71	29
Polytechnic University (PUP)	96	19	115	83	17
Technology Institute (TIP)	47	11	58	81	19
University of the East (UOE)	84	18	102	82	18
University of the Philippines (UPH)	19	8	27	70	30

The vast majority of the students were in the 16-22 age range. The prevalence of 16 and 17 year olds in higher education indicates both the Philippines' adherence to the US education

model and why straight enrolment figures should not be used in direct comparison with countries having differently structured education systems. About 5% of the students surveyed were outside the 16-22 age range. No attempt was made to standardise the sample with respect to age. Of 19 students aged 23 or above, seven had previously dropped out from a different course. The lower status colleges had 11 of these 19 mature students.

Only 2% of the respondents were married (9/480) and four of these were aged over 22. Seven respondents, all female, reported having children. Six of the seven were married and five of the seven had dropped out of a previous university course. The only single mother in the survey was a mature student who had previously worked as a maid in Brunei. About 95% of the respondents were childless, unmarried and between 16 and 22 years of age.

Geographical origins of the students were classified into 5 regions as follows:

1 Metro Manila, Bulacan and Rizal
2 Northern Luzon, including northern Quezon
3 Southern Luzon, Cavite, Laguna, Southern Quezon
4 Visayas
5 Mindanao
6 Unknown

Area 1 is basically the National Capital Region (NCR). Areas 2 and 3 are north and south Luzon beyond the usual commuter belt. Areas 4 and 5 are natural geographical units.

Details of where respondents were born are shown in Table 5.2.

Table 5.2. Students' geographical origins

Area code	Count	Per cent
1	252	52.5
2	101	21.0
3	60	12.5
4	51	10.6
5	12	2.5
6	4	0.8
Total	480	100.0

About 86% of the respondents were from Luzon, with over half from NCR. These figures illustrate the concentration of provision and take up of HE in the Metro Manila area and

the high urban bias of the sector as a whole. More than one third of national HE provision is in the NCR (Swinterton 1991), so it is highly likely that the sample of HE students in Manila is representative of the sector as a whole.

5.2.2 Section B: Family background

Father's occupation was categorised into six groups summarised in Table 5.3. The groups were based on Philippine Government census classifications. Groups 1 and 2 correspond exactly with the first two census groups. Census classifications of technicians and clerks correspond to group 3 in the table below, with census groups for service workers, trades people and machine operators forming group 4 below. Census groups for labourers and unskilled form the fifth group in the table, with occupations falling outside those listed forming a group of their own (Government of the Philippines 2006). Occupational classifications for this study were therefore wider than those used by the Philippine government, a change made to highlight the contrast between the elite and non-elite sectors, a focus more pertinent to the study than one which recorded several different occupational groups. Of 480 responses, 39.3% were in white-collar occupations, with 23.3% in professional occupations (groups 1 and 2). There were 10 responses (2.1%), where no details of father's occupation were given. Some 43 (19%) responses recorded the father as deceased.

Table 5.3.Fathers' occupation.

Fathers' occupation code	Count	Per cent
1 managerial, elite professional	39	8.1
2 general professional, business, government service, teacher, trained white-collar	73	15.2
3 clerical, manual supervisory, general government service	77	16.0
4 skilled manual, small business	85	17.7
5 unskilled, general, informal sector, sales, driving	145	30.2
6 unknown, unemployed, deceased	61	12.7
Total	480	100.0

Mothers' occupation (Table 5.4) was categorised in the same way as the fathers' occupation, with one further category, that of housewife (category 7). This was done because about half of the responses fell into this category (46.7%) and also because of the difficulty of ascribing a social class level to the occupation. Some 256 responses out of 480 recorded mother's occupation as something other than 'housewife' and of these some 127 (49.6% of non-housewife responses) were in categories 1, 2 and 3.

Table 5.4. Mothers' occupation

Mothers' occupation code	Count	Per cent
1 managerial, elite professional	13	2.7
2 general professional, business, government service, teacher, trained white-collar	48	10.0
3 clerical, manual supervisory, general government service	66	13.8
4 skilled manual, small business	45	9.4
5 unskilled, general, informal sector, sales, driving	39	8.1
6 unknown, unemployed, deceased	45	9.4
7 housewife	224	46.7
Total	480	100.0

Fathers' and mothers' occupation categories correlate significantly at the 0.01 level, indicating that fathers and mothers tend to share the same occupational categories. Housewives were omitted from the correlation.

Parents' educational qualifications were classified according to the scheme in Table 5.5. Fathers' highest educational qualification shows 36.5% having completed college or a higher degree. Some 80.3% have at least completed high school. Both of these figures are higher than would be expected across the whole population, where about 40% complete high school (Angara 1988). It is also noticeable that parents of students in elite schools have generally completed college degrees. Both DLS and UPH show fathers' college completion rates over 80%.

Table 5.5 Fathers' highest educational qualification

Fathers' education	Count	Per cent
0 Blank response	15	3.1
1 Higher degree	11	2.3
2 College degree	164	34.2
3 High school	210	43.8
4 Elementary	58	12.1
5 None	22	4.6
Total	480	100.0

Mothers' highest educational qualification shows a similar pattern. Some 34.4% have a higher or college degree, with 71.5% having completed high school. Also, the elite schools showed the same pattern as for fathers' education, with 75% of DLS and UPH mothers having a higher or college degree. Details are shown in Table 5.6.

Table 5.6 Mothers' highest educational qualification

Mothers' education	Count	Per cent
0 Blank response	8	1.7
1 Higher degree	9	1.9
2 College degree	156	32.5
3 High school	178	37.1
4 Elementary	103	21.5
5 None	26	5.4
Total	480	100.0

Fathers' and mothers' educational qualification correlate significantly at the 0.01 level.

Results for parents' occupation and education levels suggest that social class can be inferred from a combination of the two categories, as was originally assumed in the survey design. When social class[80] data and college type[81] are compared, they are found to correlate significantly at the 0.01 level. This result indicates that one assumption underpinning the research is valid, i.e. that in general college type is a proxy for social class.

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[80] A full description of the social classification of respondents appears later.

[81] College type is categorised as follows: 1 elite schools (DLS, UPH), 2 mid-level schools (ADM, TIP, PUP), 3 mass colleges (FEU, UOE)

Analysis of family size and respondent's position in the family suggests that either elite families have fewer children or that later born family members go to cheaper colleges. Some 53% are either first or second born. A summary of family position of the respondents is shown in Table 5.7.

An assessment of social class was generated in two ways. Parents' occupation data were inspected to generate a social class value in the range 1 to 4, corresponding to elite or professional, general white-collar, skilled blue-collar and other, including drivers, casual workers, vendors, etc. A second social class variable was generated by averaging four coded variables - father's and mother's occupation and father's and mother's highest educational qualification. Though similar, the two class variables were not quite the same. Both methods ignored the occupation 'housewife' and used a copy of father's occupation instead[82]. The two resulting social class variables, however, correlated significantly at the 0.01 level. Furthermore, links with results from other areas of the survey were investigated for both methods of ascribing social class and the results proved consistent in all cases.

Table 5.7. Students' position in family

Position in family	Count	Per cent
No response	3	0.6
1	163	34.0
2	91	19.0
3	69	14.4
4	52	10.8
5	38	7.9
6	29	6.0
7	16	3.3
8	7	1.5
9	6	1.3
10	4	0.8
11	1	0.2
12	1	0.2
Total	480	100.0

[82] This is justified by the close correlation between fathers' and mothers' occupation cited earlier.

Higher social classes tend to have fewer children, as do more highly educated parents. Social class also correlates with college type, with higher social class students attending elite colleges, both public and privately funded. Since this was assumed to be the case, it is evidence of the study's internal validity. Smaller family size and higher scores on the National College Entrance Examination[83] (NCEE) are both closely aligned with inferred social class variable, with children of higher educated parents achieving higher NCEE scores. All these correlations were significant at the 0.01 level.

All of the above findings conformed to what would be expected, given the general characteristics of education in the Philippines. This implied that the inferred social class variable was a reliable one and could be used with confidence in later analysis of the attitudinal data.

5.2.3. Drop-out

Incomplete parental educational cycles were indicated via answers such as "third year high school" or "second year college" for parents' highest educational qualification. This is standard practice in the Philippines, so it is likely that parents who dropped out of particular levels of education were consistently identified. For such answers, parents' highest educational qualification was recorded as the highest completed level. Information on those who did not complete phases of education was also coded in separate variables.

Mirroring the overall correlation between fathers' and mothers' education, the drop-out data were highly correlated, both in general and in particular sectors of education. Overall, fathers of lower social class were more likely to have dropped out of education. Fathers who dropped out of either elementary or high school were also associated with class, but

[83] National College Entrance Examination, taken at the end of high school and set in English.

college drop-outs were not. The findings are repeated for mothers who dropped out. Respondents whose mother or father had dropped out of education were significantly more likely to ascribe a screening and selection function to education, and to reject suggestions that access to education should be restricted. The 99 respondents with at least one parent who had dropped out of a phase of education were associated with beliefs that jobs tended to go to those with elite status (significant at the 0.05 level), that much of education was irrelevant and that education did not promote Filipino culture (significant at the 0.01 level). These attitudinal characteristics were different from the survey group as a whole.

5.2.4. Section C: Education history

Almost 90% of the students surveyed graduated from elementary schools in Luzon, with 50% graduating in Metro Manila and immediate environs. About 69% of the sample recorded the expected 6 years of elementary schooling. About 13% reported 5 years, indicating either rapid promotion or some disruption. Some 11.3% reported 7 years. Only 3.5% reported 8 or 9 years in elementary school, definitely indicating some repeated years, since elite elementary schools have a 7 year cycle.

The overall split between state and private elementary schools was 77% and 23%. Since nationally only 6% of elementary education is in private schools (Swinterton 1991), this indicates the social class bias in Philippine higher education. All the respondents from DLS and more than half of those from UPH attended private elementary education, almost exclusively in Catholic schools, thus explaining the unexpectedly high number of respondents who completed 7 years of elementary education. A chi-squared analysis reveals a very high degree of association (beyond the 0.005 level) between elite college

attendance and the completion of private elementary education. Elementary school type[84] correlates with high school type[85], college type and social class at the 0.01 level.

Over 82% of the sample attended just one elementary school. There was no link between those who did more than 6 years and those who attended more than one school, indicating that extra years of elementary schooling were not the result of moving schools. Some 79% of those who reported more than 6 years of elementary schooling only attended one school, mainly 7-year cycle elite private institutions.

Language of instruction was mainly English and Filipino, as expected (79%). If a local language was added, this accounted for 87.3% of responses. Only 9% reported Filipino alone and 2.9% reported English alone. One student reported being taught in Spanish. Almost 98% of students did the expected 4 years in secondary school. This confirms the fact that it is very rare for either a high school or an elementary school repeater to progress to higher education.

Over 90% of respondents attended just one high school. Of those who changed schools or attended a particular school for less than 4 years, there were no correlations with sex, social class or having moved for college. Some 56% of the high schools reported were private. High school location compared to province of birth indicated some tendency for students to move for high school education. Only 52.7% of responses to province of birth indicated the NCR, but 60.5% of high schools attended were in that region. A significant number of Philippine children travel to the capital region for high school education aged around 12 years. High school type correlates strongly with social class at the 0.01 level,

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[84] Four elementary school types were defined: 1 - private Catholic; 2 - private; 3 - public and urban; 4 - public and rural. The order anticipated social class association.
[85] Three high school types were defined: 1 - private Catholic; 2 - private; 3 - public.

with private schools, especially private Catholic, being the type most favoured by the higher social classes.

A total of 517 college courses attended were recorded, which means that some students attended two or more. About 71% of the institutions were in the private sector. Of the 19 students who dropped out of a course of study and restarted another, 14 (73.7%) were male and 16 (84.2%) from social classes 3 or 4. This tells us nothing about the make-up of college drop-outs, only about college drop-outs who restart. This group was, however, predominantly male and lower social class. The fact that so few students had completed a previous course suggests that there is little evidence of students upgrading their qualifications, as credentialist theories predict.

Some 55% of respondents still lived in the family home and 42% left home to attend college. Students moved at age 16 and generally stayed away from home thereafter. Social class showed no correlation with either having moved away from home or having left home to take up a college place. Education, therefore, plays some role in internal migration. If this move was associated with a greater tendency to consider eventual migration for work, then education might be promoting it.

5.2.5. Section: D Employment history

Only 8.3% of the sample reported having been in full time employment. Lower social class and older students were more likely to have been employed. Some of the full time jobs were recorded as being unpaid, being either through family connections or college-based in lieu of fees. Of 49 paid jobs reported, one third were in fast food or sales. Only one response indicated rural employment as a farm labourer.

Some 63 respondents (13.1%) were doing part time work, with two students holding two jobs each, resulting in 65 jobs being reported. These were primarily in service sectors, such as fast food and sales (25) and clerical (9). Some 15 students were employed by their college in lieu of fees. Again, lower social class students were more likely to be working.

5.2.6. Section E: Future plans

Students were asked where they would like to work, if they had a free choice. The question offered several geographical locations and students were asked to indicate their preference on a scale of 1 to 7, with 1 being the most preferred place. The question sought to identify whether a migration preference was present in the survey group.

The students overwhelmingly want to stay in the Philippines, but the USA is also quite popular, especially amongst those with family ties there. Overall, no other region receives positive endorsement. Responses from the elite colleges show the strongest preference for the Philippines. Table 5.9 below shows average scores from each college for each region[86].

Table 5.9 Average score by college indicating a desired work location (1 is most preferred, 7 least preferred)

Destination	Phil.	USA	ASEAN	Asia	Europe	Mid East	Other
ADM	1.93	3.06	5.57	5.48	4.99	6.46	6.80
DLS	1.00	2.29	4.71	4.43	4.86	7.00	7.00
FEU	2.33	3.08	5.57	5.91	5.69	6.60	6.71
PUP	1.40	2.80	5.36	5.63	4.80	6.48	6.86
TIP	1.77	2.60	5.16	5.58	5.12	6.49	6.81
UOE	2.05	3.23	5.83	5.96	5.35	6.75	6.61
UPH	1.22	2.96	4.52	4.67	4.70	6.48	6.67
Average score	1.82	2.97	5.45	5.62	5.13	6.56	6.76

When asked what region is likely to provide a job, however, a significant shift occurs. The Philippines is still viewed as the most likely, but students are not completely confident that

[86] ASEAN (at the time of the survey) included Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, Singapore and Thailand. The term Asia referred to other countries in the continent, including Hong Kong, Taiwan, Japan and South Korea, where there are significant numbers of Filipino migrant workers.

the job will be at home. Again the elite schools, along with PUP students, are more confident that work can be found at home. Given the number of Filipinos working elsewhere in ASEAN and other parts of Asia, it is surprising how little shift there was towards these options. A significant shift has taken place, however, indicating some lack of confidence in the Philippines' ability to provide employment. Table 5.10 has the results.

Table 5.10 Average scores by college for each work location (1 is most preferred)

Destination	Phil.	USA	ASEAN	Asia	Europe	Mid East	Other
ADM	2.64	3.44	5.61	4.56	5.42	5.89	6.84
DLS	2.14	2.71	4.57	4.29	5.86	7.00	7.00
FEU	2.76	3.55	5.41	5.72	5.64	6.63	6.93
PUP	2.10	2.95	5.04	5.38	5.30	6.42	6.88
TIP	2.19	2.82	5.28	5.21	5.32	6.47	6.81
UOE	2.21	3.76	5.37	5.74	5.63	6.53	6.64
UPH	2.15	3.30	4.96	4.56	4.89	6.59	7.00
Average score	2.35	3.30	5.30	5.25	5.44	6.40	6.83

A hypothesis discussed earlier is that the Philippine education system encourages eventual migration by requiring so many students to leave home at 16 to live in Metro Manila. Responses from those students who left home to take up a college place were therefore analysed separately to see if evidence for the promotion of positive attitudes toward migration could be found. Responses to these questions amongst this group showed the same patterns as for the survey group as a whole. The four attitude questions from Section F relating to migration also showed a similar pattern of response for this group and the whole survey. Overall, the survey detected no evidence to suggest that having to move to take up higher education promoted attitudes accommodating to the idea of eventual migration for work.

Almost all respondents wanted a job related to their area of study. Several respondents on education courses, however, indicated a desire to change direction. Out of 517 courses listed (including previous enrolments), 455 (88%) indicated a choice of job in line with the course being studied. This confirms that most students in the system do not see education

in predominantly credentialist terms. The qualification was important, but there remained a clear link for the students between what was studied and the skills that needed for employment. Overwhelmingly, the students were conscious of the functionalist aspects of education and choice of course appears to be driven by perceived employment chances. Of the 47 responses where the job desired was definitely not related to the course of study, 25 were education students. Some 20% of the education students surveyed, therefore, do not want to teach. Some 14 responses were pragmatic, indicating that any job would suffice.

Respondents were then asked to say why many Filipinos migrate for work. The question presented a series of options and a preference scale. The options presented arose from the formative interviews with educational practitioners and others. Responses indicated that earning more money and having a job were the reasons why people migrate for work. Lack of opportunity at home and gaining higher status were of moderate importance.

Importantly, Western lifestyles and wanting to leave the Philippines were not considered important. Table 5.11 shows the overall results, by college and college type. Elite students were generally more concerned about lack of opportunities in the Philippines, despite the fact that they tended to be more convinced that they would find employment at home.

Table 5.11. Reasons why Filipinos migrate for work.
A score of 2 indicates an important reason, a score of 0 an unimportant one. The categories are: earning more money, gaining status, getting a job, Western lifestyle, desire to travel, knowing other overseas contract workers (OCW), wanting to leave the Philippines, lack of opportunity at home.

Overall	Earnings	Status	Job	Western	Travel	OCW	Leave	Opportunity
Average score	1.78	0.98	1.74	0.22	0.54	0.35	0.25	1.06
Question E4 by college								
College	Earnings	Status	Job	Western	Travel	OCW	Leave	Opportunity
ADM	1.69	0.88	0.73	0.34	0.50	0.51	0.52	0.87
DLS	1.88	0.75	1.38	0.13	1.00	0.25	0.38	1.13
FEU	1.84	1.00	1.74	0.32	0.61	0.38	0.24	0.97
PUP	1.74	1.02	1.76	0.14	0.49	0.29	0.21	1.12
TIP	1.86	0.88	1.76	0.26	0.59	0.38	0.26	1.02
UOE	1.83	0.95	1.70	0.21	0.52	0.29	0.32	1.05
UPH	1.78	0.78	1.89	0.37	0.67	0.26	0.48	1.74

Question E4 by college type								
College type	Earnings	Status	Job	Western	Travel	OCW	Leave	Opportunity
1	1.80	0.77	1.77	0.31	0.74	0.26	0.46	1.60
2	1.75	0.91	1.06	0.29	0.51	0.44	0.38	1.01
3	1.83	0.97	1.71	0.26	0.55	0.33	0.29	1.02

Some 69.3% of the sample indicated that they had at least one migrant, or Overseas Contract Worker (OCW), in the family, with responses from all seven universities showing a similar pattern. There was no correlation between reporting an OCW and social class. Of those who reported OCWs, 48.2% reported 2 or more. The locations of OCWs were classified into nine regions, with almost 78% of those listed being in the USA, other Asia (including Japan, Hong Kong and South Korea) or the Middle East, suggesting patterned behaviour, as described by Portes and Walton (1981). Some 22% of OCWs reported were from the respondent's direct family, being a mother, father, brother or sister or in-law. Tables 5.12-16 below show the results.

Table 5.12. Number of respondents reporting one or more OCWs in the family.

No. of OCWs	No. of respondents	Per cent of those reporting OCWs
1	171	51.7%
2	83	25.1%
3	47	14.2%
4	22	6.6%
5	5	1.5%
6	1	0.3%
7	1	0.3%
8	1	0.3%
Total	331	100.0%

Table 5.13. OCW's location by region:

Area code	Geographical area	Count	Per cent
1	USA	157	25.6%
2	ASEAN	17	2.8%
3	Other Asia	134	21.9%
4	Europe	48	7.8%
5	Middle East	186	30.3%
6	Australasia	11	1.8%
7	Canada	42	6.9%
8	Other	3	0.5%
9	Unknown (usually seamen)	15	2.4%

Table 5.14. The top 10 reported locations for OCWs

Country	No. of OCWs
USA	153
SAUDI ARABIA	129
HONG KONG	56
CANADA	42
JAPAN	33
TAIWAN	29
MIDDLE EAST	20
SOUTH KOREA	13
ITALY	12
UAE	12

Table 5.15. Relations listed and numbers within each category.

Relation	Count	Per cent
Parent	44	7.2%
Brother/Sister/in-law	92	15.0%
Grandparent	13	2.1%
Aunt/Uncle	334	54.5%
Cousin	129	21.0%
Unknown	1	0.2%

Table 5.16. OCW work categories

Work type	Count	Percent
Professional	45	7.4%
Lower professional/White-collar	56	9.2%
General clerical/Lower skilled white-collar	101	16.5%
Blue-collar skilled/Vocational	85	13.9%
Domestic/Unskilled	173	28.3%
Unknown	152	24.8%

A total of 613 OCWs were listed. Students from professional backgrounds tended to list professional OCWs and so on, with social class and OCW relation code significantly negatively correlated at the 0.01 level. This implies that higher social class students were less likely to have an immediate family member working abroad. In the case of lower social class students, it is highly likely that the immediate family member overseas was funding the student's college education via remittances, but this data was not elicited. Furthermore, a professional OCW was more likely to be in the USA.

5.2.7. Section F: Attitudes and values - General observations

The overall score for all questions was 2.66. There was therefore a tendency towards acquiescence. Some questions, however, were not exact opposites as explained in Chapter Four. Individual student average scores range from 3.60 to 1.71, with a standard deviation of 1.17. This means that the overall average is about 0.29 standard deviations from the expected figure[87]. Since the study focussed on the actual attitudes and values supported, not relative differences deemed interesting thereafter, the results presented were based on actual, not standardised scores, thus preserving the students' expressed beliefs at the expense of greater differentiation.

A complete listing of the 84 attitudinal questions in Section F can be found in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 has details of the answers. An average answer for the whole sample is given and averages for each of the seven colleges surveyed. Questions were classified as Agree, Disagree or Split questions. Agree questions were those where agree responses amounted to more than 50% of all responses and where these were more than twice the number of disagree responses. Disagree questions were similarly defined to indicate general disagreement. Split questions were the rest. Overall, there were 43 Agree questions, 12 Disagree and 29 Split. In the following sections, the attitudinal characteristics of the respondents are considered in the three ways indicated in Chapter Four, general agreement and disagreement, *a priori* attitudinal axes and factor analysis.

5.2.8. Section F - Agree questions

The agree questions identify several widely held attitudes, paramount among which is a belief in the efficacy of education. Not only amongst the questionnaire respondents, who

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[87] The current study compares well with other similar surveys on the differentiation of responses. Doronila and Carino (1993) used a similar, but reverse direction, semantic scale for attitudinal responses in research on UPH students. Average responses for their questions were from 4.52 to 3.14, a range of 1.38, so the current study achieved a lower degree of acquiescence and a greater differentiation of responses.

might be expected not to question the expected effectiveness of their prime occupation, but also amongst interviewees from all backgrounds there was an almost unquestioning belief that education (question numbers in brackets):

- provides access to employment (12,18,32,50)
- teaches marketable skills (13)
- is a must for Filipinos (20)
- promotes development of all kinds (20,54,66)
- promotes harmony, mobility and equality (3,15,56)
- is a form of investment (55)

There is a belief that educational quality has not deteriorated (17) and that a stated national development goal, the promotion of Filipino culture, is achieved (77), though at the same time Western values dominate (78). The educational process and experience has generally been a positive one (82,84). Access to education should be as wide as possible and everyone can potentially benefit from it (65,79,80).

There is a strong tendency towards individualism and assertiveness (4,34,43,44,52,63). On the other hand, higher education students are still aware of their family ties, which can be called upon in times of difficulty (37). Students are aware of privilege in society (2,23), but also believe that opportunities for mobility exist (71), despite qualification inflation (68). Respondents do not want to migrate (35), but are aware of the option (62), and recognise education's importance in facilitating this (32). The students surveyed tended to be conservative in outlook (46,76), but demand the right to stand up for their own position (43,44). They endorse lower birth rates and having families later in life (28,39) and are generally in favour of the technological modernisation of society and with it greater integration into international trading systems (7,31,48).

5.2.9. Section F - Disagree questions

The twelve disagree questions largely confirm in negative terms what the agree questions identified. Again there are indications that the educational process was enjoyable and of good quality (47,60). Desire for greater access to education and its universal relevance are also confirmed (29,30,41,58). General negative connotations of education are denied (9,14). Assertion of individuality is also here (6). Respondents re-state their desire to work in the Philippines and not to migrate overseas (36,49). They believe that education does not necessarily act as a social integrator (25) and it does not promote a feeling of independence (24). Resoundingly, higher education students do not want to be taught in Filipino (1). They believe the education process does promote social harmony (3) and confirm that it does not actively promote fragmentation (14).

5.2.10. Section F - Split questions

Several questions relating to status and privileged access to education and employment elicit split responses (21,22,27,33,57,67). Respondents differ on perceived availability of employment (45,70,72). Though as a group they are strongly individualistic, no clear pattern emerges when conflict with elders or parents is possible (69,73,81). The level of stress on the English language (though not its predominance) is debated (75) and differences are evident when specific educational processes and outcomes are questioned (16,18,26,74). Access for all is clearly desired, but not if this were to involve a redistribution of resources from higher education (the Psacharopoulos, World Bank position) (40,64). Though strongly in favour of lower birth rates, doubts emerge when teachings of Catholicism (59) or tradition (38) are at stake. Respondents are unsure about pluralism (61) and whether material benefits from their investment in education will accrue (51). Display of material wealth and status, and the potential satisfaction thereby

perceived, provoke mixed responses (5,8,10,12). There is a hint of nationalism (42) and no clear position on the role of luck in determining the future (83).

5.2.11. Section F - Further discussion

Responses to some 33 agree questions showed no apparent differences across the three college types. As such they form a set of opinions which are held in general throughout the survey group. They are summarised in Table 5.17.

Table 5.17 Attitudes generally agreed across the three college types

Agree Questions	Indicating
28, 39	Fewer and later children desired
7, 13, 25, 31, 32, 50, 54, 55, 65, 66, 79, 80	Modernisation values widely held; belief in the role of technology; education seen in functionalist terms; education promotes development, is relevant at all levels and is socially cohesive
19, 56	Belief in social mobility through education
82, 84	Identification of positive educational experience
24, 44, 52, 63, 37	High levels of individualism tempered by family ties
3, 46	Desire for conformity
35, 62, 68	Conscious of scarcity of opportunity, but no desire to migrate
53, 77, 78	Moderate nationalism
23, 31, 53	Education preserves the status quo - lower status colleges agreeing strongly; general agreement with "free trade" but also agreement with taxing imports. All three questions had significant "Don't know" scores, so may not have been fully understood.

Section F responses were then analysed for correlations with respondent's social class, college type and gender, to identify any attitudinal characteristics which might differ within and across groups. Only questions where the correlations between the group's responses and the group code was significant at the 0.05 level were considered.

Social class and college type were closely aligned in their attitudinal characteristics, but crucially there were some differences. Throughout this section, it must be borne in mind that what are presented are relative differences of agreement and disagreement, not absolute differences, as in the previous section. Higher social status and higher status

college attendance are associated with greater agreement with the each of the following attitudinal positions, while lower social class and lower status college attendance were associated with less agreement or more disagreement.

Higher social class and higher status college attendance were associated with a belief that the opinions and assumptions of elders or teachers should be questioned. Both groups saw education as an investment, promoting social mobility, but widening access at the expense of lowering quality was not supported. They believed that educational quality had been maintained and there was support for the use of modern teaching methods, rather than rote learning. There was realism about how hard it would be to find employment, but it was the individual's talents, not luck, that would most affect future success, so education was not seen as a screen. There was an expressed belief in the desirability of modernization in the form of increased trade and foreign investment in the country. Interestingly, material advance was not seen as the motivating factor in educational participation

But there were areas where this concordance between higher social class and higher status college attendance broke down. Higher social class respondents were more likely to think that education was good in itself, even though it might not relate to employment. In general, they supported provision of high quality education for all, with the national economy perceived as performing in direct relation to the quality of human capital available, with individuals seen as being in control of their own lives. There was no pattern on these issues across college type.

On the other hand, attending higher status colleges was associated with a belief that education does not promote equality, despite social status not being seen as the main determinant of earnings. Employment decisions would be influenced by factors other than

individual considerations, with education seen as facilitating migration. Finally, the more elite the college level, the stronger was the expressed desire to be taught in English.

Attitude differences associated with gender were markedly different from those described above. Males were more willing to question assumptions and authority, the only characteristic which tended to confirm Guthrie's (1971) and Lynch's (1984) assertion that females were more prone to acquiescence. Females were more likely to regard education as an end in itself, preferred English as the language of instruction and favoured more modern teaching methods. They believed more strongly than males in education's capacity to promote social mobility and were less materialistic in outlook. Females were more in favour of having smaller families and were less inclined to migrate, believing that there were good employment opportunities at home, despite qualification inflation. They believed that their schools had been of good quality and they were more pluralistic in outlook than males.

These results are summarised and contrasted in the Table 5.18 below. Attitudinal characteristics indicated by the correlations listed above are shown. Shaded cells indicate a greater tendency toward agreement by students from higher social classes and higher status colleges, whereas shading in the gender column indicates a higher level of agreement by females. The numbers in each cell refer to the questions that displayed the correlation. It can be seen that, though there is a concordance between the social class and college level, the attitudinal characteristics of the two groups are different. Though the difference is small, it is observable. In addition, there were 20 questions where the correlation signs for class and college were different, 18 where higher college status was associated with greater disagreement and two where it signified greater agreement, though most of these correlations were not significant.

Table 5.18. Attitudinal characteristics contrasted by social class, college status and gender

Attitudinal characteristic	**Class**	**College**	**Gender**
Education is good in itself, even if it does not relate directly to employment	20		16
Beliefs and assumptions should be questioned	26,43,63	6,26,43	
Individuals are in control of their own future	44,52		
Education can promote social mobility and should be available to all, but high quality for everyone would be too expensive	29,56,63,79	30,40,54, 64,79	
National development is assisted by higher levels of human capital	66		
"Progressive" or "modern" education is desirable	76	76	48
There has been a fall in educational quality	17	17	
Education does not influence an individual's materialism	10	5,8,10	8
International capitalism is a good thing	42	42	
Education is an investment	55	51	
Education can promote social mobility and should be available to all at high quality	56,65		
Opportunities will not be easy to secure	71	71	
Education does not create equality		15,22	
Education can facilitate migration		32	
Teaching should not be in Filipino, but in English		1	1
Luck will not be the main determinant of an individual's future	83	83	
Social status is not the main determinant of earnings or educational success		2,23,27	
Education is not merely a screen	21	21,50	
Eventual employment decisions will not be theirs alone		34	
Education promotes pluralism			25
Families should have fewer children			28,38
They want to stay in the Philippines and not migrate			35,36,49
Qualification inflation has happened			68
School quality was good			47,60
There are good employment opportunities in the Philippines			45,50

Of the significant results listed above, those for five questions:

34 I alone will decide here to work after my education.
40 It is better to cut government spending in higher education so that everyone can have elementary education.
51 My higher earnings as a result of education will not make up for what I have paid in school and college fees.
52 I, myself, have the most power over my future success.
64 The country cannot afford to educate so many college graduates because many of them will not find work.

had correlations for social class and college status of opposite signs, with one of the correlations significant. All of the above showed higher status college respondents disagreeing more and higher social class agreeing more. One question:

29 Small farmers do not need education.

was a significant disagree question on the basis of social class, whereas higher status college respondents tended to agree. Overall, there was a tendency for higher status college respondents to disagree more, indicating a greater willingness to assert their individuality.

The 84 attitudinal questions were also analysed on a merely agree or disagree basis, with the strength of the opinion ignored. The significant attitudinal characteristics at the 5% level associated with each of the three variables, social class, college status and gender, were not substantively different from those listed above, but the tendency for higher status college respondents to assert their individuality became even more marked. Higher social class was associated with 16 significant correlations, 5 on agreement and 11 disagreement, whereas higher status college was associated with 31 significant correlations, 7 agreeing and 24 disagreeing. Gender was associated with 17 significant correlations, 5 agreeing and 12 disagreeing. Some 20 questions had opposite correlations for social class and college status, 11 with higher social class agreeing and higher college status disagreeing, with nine in the opposite sense. Six of those questions were associated with significant differences, with one question:

19 Education increases your chance of getting a highly paid job.

showing opposite correlations at the 99% level, with higher social class respondents associated with disagreement and higher status colleges agreeing.

5.2.12. Section F - Axes of analysis for student attitudes

As explained in Chapter Four, a series of "axes" was developed to obtain a broader view of the results than could be provided by individual questions. Hofstede's (1980) four axes,

power difference, uncertainty avoidance, individuality and masculinity were included, as also used by Canieso-Doronila and Acuña (1994). These, it was hoped, would provide triangulation and cross-verification of the results from the current study. Details of the axes and the associated results can be found in Appendices 3 and 4.

On the basis of these axes, the respondents believed that education would lead to material and career benefits. Students in elite colleges were sceptical about this, but students from lower class or less educated backgrounds held this belief very strongly indeed. There was very strong agreement, especially from elite colleges, higher social classes and more educated families, that education was valuable for its own sake. The students also believed strongly that education promoted changed attitudes and values that assist national development and thought that this benefits society as a whole. They thought that education promotes social mobility, greater equality and confers merit and that these were both possible and desirable in Philippine society. Students from lower status colleges were more sceptical about this. There was very strong agreement that greater individualism was both desirable and promoted by education, with those students from the most highly educated families having the strongest opinion on this. It was generally agreed that education promotes a positive Filipino national identity, but students from elite colleges were neutral on this.

The survey group agreed strongly that qualification inflation had taken place, especially the elite students. Crucially, however, they did not see the education process merely as certification. They disagreed very strongly with this idea, with the strongest position coming again from the elite group and those from the more educated families. They also took a strong position on the desirability of lower fertility, especially the females and those with highly educated mothers.

They did not believe that pluralism and diversity were desirable in the wider society, but they did think that education promotes understanding of other people's points of view. Lower social class students, especially, did not see these concepts as desirable. The whole group believed very strongly in the desirability of modernity, in the form of increased access to education, and in education's ability to deliver the goals to facilitate it. This view was held most strongly among students from highly educated backgrounds. There was a near unanimous expression of faith in both the desirability and necessity of formal education.

The survey group was not conscious of power difference and did not think that society was stratified in this way, particularly the elite group. The same pattern applied to the idea that one of education's roles is to teach you to know your place in such structures. Again the elite group vehemently denied this, but students in low status colleges were close to neutral on the idea. On Hofstede's uncertainty avoidance concept, respondents were neutral about its existence in society at large, marginally denying it exists. They strongly believed, however, that education promotes social harmony and loyalty. Hofstede's version of individualism was seen as highly desirable, with students from lower status colleges agreeing very strongly indeed, whilst the elite group was close to neutral. A crucial part of this concept relates to the desirability of wealth and personal possessions and it could be that the elite group was unconcerned about such matters because they take these for granted. Hofstede's masculinity concept, which includes such things as living to work and a materialist outlook was seen as not desirable for society as a whole. But the students were very strong in the belief that education provides access to wealth and status. Again the elite group believe this more strongly than the others. There was some doubt as to whether education was providing the skills and abilities to assist national development. Elite students thought it was, but the others were sceptical. Overall, the group believed that their courses of study would be useful for them and that education was worth pursuing as

an investment. Females held this belief more strongly than the males. The whole group thought that educational standards had not fallen, but elite students and those with college-educated parents were neutral on the issue. Though neutral overall on whether education relied too heavily on rote learning, elite students disagreed that there was too much of this.

Elite students, higher social classes and those with college-educated parents believed that a free trade orientation was desirable for the country. The whole group agreed that society benefits from investing in education, with respondents having elite status, high social class and educated parents feeling very strongly indeed about this. There was also strong agreement across the whole sample that education was a personal investment, but students from low status colleges were less convinced.

Attitudes towards migration proved very interesting, in that they were quite different from what earlier discussions had suggested. The students did not think that migration for work was a good thing, for the country or for themselves. The elite group felt very strongly about this. Women in the survey expressed this view more strongly than men, but there was no difference across social classes. The group was neutral on whether education facilitates migration and on whether there would be adequate employment opportunities in the Philippines. The elite students, those of higher social class and those with college-educated parents marginally disagreed that there would be adequate opportunity at home.

The students did not want to be taught in Filipino with the elite group, higher social classes and those with highly educated parents vehemently opposed to this. But even the students from the lower status colleges were generally in favour of retaining English. Given what was concluded about the role of English language skills in forming a possible employment screen, it seems that the students in the survey were keenly conscious of the need to develop their abilities in this area. There was general agreement that access to education

should be as wide as possible, especially amongst those from the lower status colleges, with elite students neutral. As a whole, the group rejected the idea that luck plays a large part in determining life chances, with the elite group and higher social classes strongly disagreeing. Interestingly, those in low status colleges, lower social classes and those with the least educated parents were quite close to neutrality on this and males rejected the role of luck much more strongly than females. Axes producing significant correlations with social class, college status and gender are listed in Table 5.19.

Table 5.19 indicates agreement (+) or disagreement (-) at the 1% or 5% level, with plus indicating greater agreement by higher social class, higher status college and females, and minus indicating greater agreement by lower social class, lower status college and males

Axis	Social class	College status	Gender
Access - Society benefits from wider access to education		- 5%	
Fatal - Success will depend on luck	- 1%	- 5%	
Fertility - Fewer and later children desired			+ 1%
Hofstede's Individualism is manifest in society		- 5%	
Education is an investment for society as a whole		+ 1%	
Education is an investment for the individual		+ 1%	
Hostede's masculinity applies to society as a whole		- 1%	
Hostede's masculinity is developed by education		+ 1%	
Education promotes a materialistic outlook	- 5%		
Migration mentality exists in society			- 1%
Migration is promoted by education			- 1%
Mobility is possible in Philippine society		+ 5%	
Hofstede's power difference is manifest in society		- 1%	
Hofstede's power difference is promoted by education	- 5%	- 5%	
Education is good for personal development alone			- 5%
Education promotes pluralism		+ 1%	+ 5%
Educational quality has not fallen			+ 5%
Education is relevant to individual needs			+ 5%
Education relies on rote learning			- 1%
Screening is manifest in society			+ 1%
Screening is education's role	- 5%		
Free trade orientation	+ 5%		- 1%

5.2.13. Section F - Links with social class, father and mother education and gender

The survey group was differentiated by gender on a number of issues. Females were significantly more conscious of education's screening and credentialist role, especially in

the area of qualification inflation. On the other hand, females were more convinced than males of the internal relevance of education, that the education process as experienced led to a valuable and usable end product that would be useful to employers. They had a stronger belief in the capacity of education to act as an integrative force in society and were more confident that standards had been maintained. Females tended to be more fatalistic and were in strong agreement with lower fertility rates. Males were more likely to have a free trade, liberal economic stance and were more accommodating to the idea of migration for work. Males were more critical of rote learning in school, but they were more convinced than females about education's potential to promote personal development. Males were significantly more in favour of learning through the Filipino language.

Higher social class was associated with a stronger belief in education's capacity to generate human capital by teaching skills which would be used directly by employers. The higher social classes were significantly more convinced of education's capacity to transform all sectors of society, through achieving rural modernisation and increased pluralism. The same groups were more likely to view education as an investment and have a significant free trade, liberal economic outlook. They also tended to be less fatalistic, believed that qualifications and education would lead to career advancement, denying their purely credentialist roles. Lower social classes perceived a power difference in Philippine society, whilst higher social classes denied it exists.

Parents' education level was associated with a fatalistic outlook, with children of less educated parents significantly more fatalistic. Mothers' education level was strongly linked with the students' expressed belief in the capacity of education to develop marketable skills and thereby human capital[88].

[88] Thus confirming Birdsall and Cochrane's (1982) finding and Cortes' (1993) link with exam scores.

5.2.14. Section F - Attitudes associated with college type and social class

The most interesting and important findings of the survey lay in the observed attitudinal differences across the different college types. Though students in the elite colleges were predominantly from the highest social class, there were some students from lower social classes in that group. Similarly, there were students from the highest social classes in the lower status colleges, particularly in Adamson University, which conforms to the 'private Catholic' type which is favoured by the higher social classes. It was possible, therefore, not only to see what trends of attitudinal difference were displayed across college types, but it was also possible to contrast these with attitudinal differences associated with social class.

Inevitably, a question arises as to how much of the observed variation across college levels is a manifestation of the pre-existing social class difference. Though social class was imputed in the current study from a combination of college allegiance, parents' occupation and parents' education level, it can be demonstrated that there is a measurable difference between the attitude mix associated with social class and that associated with college type. This would suggest that there is an identifiable enculturation process associated with education level and quality, which is distinct from social class identity. Though the two overlap, they remain demonstrably different. This leads directly to the assertion that not only does participation in the education process influence attitudes and values of students, depending on what level of education is experienced, but also, within phases of education, different qualities of education promote different kinds of attitudinal change.

College type was significantly associated with 11 of the defined attitudinal axes, social class five, with only two showing significant results for both groups. Students in the more elite colleges showed greater faith in the possibility of achieving equality in society through social mobility via merit. They were more pluralistic in outlook and more 'masculine' in Hofstede's sense in that they desired to excel and receive material rewards.

They believed more strongly in education's investment characteristics, both for society as a whole and for them in particular. They denied education's screening function, though not significantly, and that a wide power difference exists in the Philippines. They were less individualistic in Hofstede's terminology, though this may be misleading since it is defined to include such things as preference for small economic units and universalism. As a whole, the entire survey group was very highly individualistic in the usual sense of the word. Students from elite colleges were more likely to tolerate rote learning in the classroom and were less fatalistic, though neither of these proved significant.

When the attitudinal data was examined for significant links with social class, a similar but noticeably different pattern appeared. Higher social class students rejected education's screening or credentialist role and Hofstede's concept of power difference, though they did not deny that these characteristics might apply to society in general. They rejected fatalism and materialism, but were capitalist in outlook. When links between students' attitudes and the type of high school attended were inspected, the results confirmed what was found in relation to college level and social class. Public school students tended to be more acquiescent, status conscious, materialistic in outlook and pro-education than the elite group. The latter were more conscious of education's sorting and selection function, but denied that this is its prime function and did not take their own success for granted.

5.2.15. Section F - Factor analysis of the attitudinal questions

This was carried out as explained in Chapter Four and produced 34 factors from the remaining 40 questions. The 34 factors extracted are shown in Table 5.20 and are compared with the original axes of analysis which were developed prior to data collection. It can be seen that there is a high degree of association between the two methods of analysis.

Table 5.20 Factors extracted from factor analysis compared with the original axes constructed prior to data analysis.

Factor	Factor name	Question no.	Question text	Original axis and question(s)
1	Social mobility	67	The highly paid jobs go only to the elite	Social mobility, equality, merit (EDU) 33,67
		33	Highly paid jobs always go to members of the elite	
2	Migration	36	I want to work overseas and I would not consider working in the Philippines	Migration (SOC) 36,49
		49	May aim is to work overseas when I have finished my education	
3	Quality	82	My lessons at school were generally interesting and enjoyable	Quality (EDU) 82.84
		84	My teachers at school were generally well qualified	
4	Individualism Tolerance	24	Education promotes independent thinking	Individuality (EDU) 24,25
		25	Education promotes understanding of the different groups and classes in society	
5	Modernity	30	It is better to educate a small number of highly trained people than develop literacy in everyone.	Modernity (SOC) 30,41
		41	It is better to educate a small number of highly trained or expert people than to provide elementary education for everyone.	
6	Social mobility	72	There only a limited number of opportunities for people to gain higher status through education	Social mobility (EDU) 72
7	Power difference	6	Criticising teachers is disrespectful	Power difference (SOC) 6,64
		64	The country cannot afford to educate so many college graduates because many of them will not find work	
8	Modernity	41	It is better to educate a small number of highly trained or expert people than to provide elementary education for everyone.	Modernity (SOC) 30,41
		76	There is too much progressive or modern education	
9	Personal development	11	Educated people tend to be more contented with their life	Personal development (EDU) 11
10	Materialism	22	Education is the main thing that will determine a person's earnings.	Materialism, career advancement (EDU) 22
		64	The country cannot afford to educate so many college graduates because many of them will not find work	
11	Social class influence	27	Educational success is determined mainly by a person's social or family background	Social mobility, quality, merit (EDU) 27
12	Self-interest	8	Educated people are mainly interested in themselves	Pluralism (EDU) 8
13	Social mobility (class)	57	Privilege in society is reduced by education	Social mobility, quality, merit (EDU) 57
14	Equality	15	Education helps promote equality.	Social mobility, quality, merit (EDU) 15
15	Fertility	39	It is better for married couples to wait before having children	Fertility (SOC) 38.39

16	Access versus self-interest	40	It is better to cut government spending in higher education so that everyone can have elementary education	Access (SOC) 40
17	Individualism/ Tolerance	81	My family should have a large say in where I work	Individualism (SOC) 81
18	Relevance	66	The country's future development will depend a lot on the quality of its managers and professionals	Relevance (SOC) 66
19	Fertility/ Tradition	38	It is a good thing to preserve the tradition of large families.	Fertility (SOC) 38
20	Access versus cost	58	Providing good quality elementary education for everybody in the Philippines would be too expensive	Access (EDU) 58
21	Power difference	64	The country cannot afford to educate so many college graduates because many of them will not find work	Power difference (EDU) 26
		26	Education teaches you to do as you are told.	
22	Social mobility	12	Education allows a person to get access to highly paid jobs	Social mobility (EDU) 12
23	Masculinity	10	Educated people worry about possessions less than other people	Masculinity (Hofstede) (SOC) 10
24	Fatalism	83	My success in the future will be largely a matte of luck	Fatalism (SOC) 83
25	Individualism/ Masculinity	5	Possessions are a sign of success	Individualism (Hofstede) and Masculinity (Hofstede) 5
26	Screening and credentialism	21	Education is just a way of identifying the most employable people.	Screening and credentialism (EDU) 21
27	Education as investment	51	My higher earnings as a result of education will not make up for what I have paid in school and college fees	Education as investment (EDU) 51
28	Technology	7	Economic development relies on extensive use of technology	Modernity/pluralism (SOC) 7
29	Uncertainty avoidance	69	The views of my elders should always be respected, even when I do not agree with them	Uncertainty avoidance (SOC) 69
30	Opportunity	45	It will be hard to get a job in the Philippines when my education is completed.	Opportunity (SOC) 45
31	Pluralism	61	Society is strengthened when there are many different peoples and beliefs	Pluralism (SOC) 61
32	Nationalism	77	Understanding of Filipino culture is developed by the education system	Nationalism (SOC) 77
33	Free trade	31	Free trade promotes national development	Free trade (SOC) 31
34	Changed quality	17	Education in the Philippines is as good now as it has ever been.	Quality (EDU) 17

This list of factors compared favourably with the *a priori* axes, some of which, as a result of the factor analysis, can be seen to have achieved significant results from the effect of a single question. When questions removed from the factor analysis were also removed from the original axis definitions, there emerged a strong concordance between the *a priori* definitions and the extracted factors. Of the 36 original axes, seven disappeared because the questions on which they were based were removed from the factor analysis. These were:

Promote development (SOC)
Screening and credentialism (SOC)
Modernity (EDU)
Individualism (Hofstede) (SOC)
Relevance (SOC)
Migration (EDU)
Language of instruction (EDU)

Educational quality became two new factors, 3 and 34, with quality as experienced by the respondent appearing as a different factor from perceptions of change in quality. Lower fertility also became two new factors, with a second factor apparently focusing on the appearance of "tradition" in the question. Both modernity (SOC) and social mobility (SOC) split across multiple new factors. Some 19 of the new factors, however, matched the original axes of analysis after the rejected questions were removed. There emerged, therefore, no major differences in attitudinal characteristics summarised from the two analysis methods, being the original *a priori* axes and the extracted factors.

These 34 factors were coded as new variables and correlations between these and social class, college status and gender were examined. Significant results were as follows, with plus indicating agreement by higher social classes, higher status college and females and minus the opposite sense for social class and college level and greater agreement by males:

Table 5.21. Correlations are positive (+) or negative (-) either at the 5% or 1% level.

Factor	Interpretation	Social class	College status	Gender
2	Migration			- 1%
4	Individuality-pluralism	+ 5%		+ 5%
7	Education as investment - power difference		- 5%	+ 5%
8	Modernity	- 1%		
12	Pluralism-individuality			- 1%
14	Equality		- 5%	
16	Access versus self-interest		- 1%	- 5%
18	Educational relevance (human capital)	+ 1%		
19	Fertility (traditionalism)	+ 5%		- 5%
20	Access versus cost		+ 5%	
21	Individualism (power difference)	- 5%	- 5%	
23	Materialism	- 5%		
24	Fatalism	- 1%		+ 5%
27	Educational investment		- 5%	
33	Free trade			- 5%

Higher social class is therefore associated with:

- belief that education promotes individual development and tolerance (factor 4)
- a desire for wide access to elementary education and disassociation with traditionalism (factor 8)
- belief that higher status jobs hold the key to development, i.e. they are aware of the concept of human capital and believe that development can be stimulated by an elite group (factor 18)
- wanting to retain the tradition of large families (factor19)
- believing that education is an investment and promotes personal development, not obedience (factor 21)
- rejecting materialism (factor 23)
- rejecting the role of luck (factor 24)

Responses from higher status colleges are associated with:

- denial of power difference (factor 7)
- disagreement with the idea that education promotes equality (factor 14)
- unwillingness to widen access to elementary education by redirecting funds from tertiary education, i.e. are conscious of their own interests (factor 16)
- a belief that good quality education for all would be too expensive (factor 20)
- a belief that education is an investment and promotes personal development, not obedience (factor 21)
- a belief that education is a worthwhile investment (factor 27)

Gender was associated with:

- females being more insistent that they do not want to migrate (factor 2)
- females being more individualistic, pluralist and tolerant (factor 4)
- females being more conscious of power difference (factor 7)
- females being less self-interested (factor 12)
- females disagreeing with widening access to education by directing funds from higher education (factor 16)
- females not wanting to retain the tradition of large families (factor19)

- females tending to be more fatalistic (factor 24)
- females tending to disagree that free trade assists development (factor 33)

In the list of 34 extracted factors social mobility appears four times (factors 1,6,13 and 22), access to education twice (factors 16,20) and power difference twice (factors 7,21). These were combined to form three new factors and correlations were examined. The combined access to education factor correlated positively with social class and negatively with gender at the 5% level, indicating that higher social classes were against increasing access by cutting higher education expenditure and on grounds of cost, and that females were willing to tolerate these actions more than males. The combined power difference factor correlated negatively with college status at the 1% level, indicating that respondents from higher status colleges were less aware of power difference.

Both the factor analysis and the *a priori* axes therefore produced similar results, in that attitudinal characteristics associated with social class and college status are similar, but not the same. As can be seen from Table 5.21, social class correlates with seven of the axes and college status six, with only one shared. Some 11 of the *a priori* axes and nine of the extracted factors showed opposite correlations between social class and college status, with three of the combined 20 showing one of the opposing results significant. The overall pattern of attitudinal responses, therefore, including the individual questions, the *a priori* axes and the extracted factors, indicates that there exists a small but observable difference between the respondents' social class and educational status. This suggests that exposure to education at different quality levels does have an observable and measurable effect on attitude formation, albeit small and at the level of detail.

5.2.16. Section G: Educational experience

When asked what was important in building a good education, the students gave highly sophisticated responses. Some indicated more than one thing, giving a total of 514 responses in all. These were categorised by hand under a series of broad headings and then further combined into larger groupings, as shown in Table 5.22 below, representing 98% of all responses. It is interesting that these students place the actual academic content of the courses only ninth in importance.

Table 5.22. Qualities important in building a good education:

Area	Per cent listed
Personal qualities and traits	17.70
Individual endeavour	13.62
Group work and communication	13.23
Teacher and instruction quality	10.31
Motivation	8.17
Self-study	7.00
Practical application of theory	5.84
ECA[89] and social events	5.06
Success and testing	4.28
Content and knowledge acquisition	3.70
Resources	3.50
Basic education	1.95
Institution & background	1.36
English language	1.17
Policy & society	1.17

When asked to answer a similar question, but this time asking what school activity would most help students get a job, there were 8 groups of answers (66% in total), with each group accounting for more than 3% of all 556 responses. Completing the course and succeeding in exams, along with ability to apply skills learned were the top scorers.

After re-classifying the answers into broader groups, ten categories each accounted for more than 1% of the total responses. These are displayed in Table 5.23. They indicate a

[89] ECA - Extra-Curricular Activities

very strong functionalist view of education, in that, despite 'personal qualities' being the highest scoring, almost 60% of responses cite quality or content of education as the thing that will most help to get a job. A more credentialist view of education would have produced a much higher preference for the exam results option and a greater awareness of the role of language.

Table 5.23. Qualities promoted by schooling deemed important in helping to get a job.

Area	Per cent listed
Personal qualities	23.74
Skills & Knowledge	22.30
Overall results	17.99
Communication	8.99
Quality of education	5.94
Language	3.60
Confidence	3.24
ECA & social events	3.24
Guidance	2.70
Ability & talent	1.08

When asked what aspects of school were the most enjoyable, social and peer interaction activities dominated the responses, but they again confirm that the core of the educational process, the content, is enjoyable.

Table 5.24. School activities judged enjoyable.

Area	Per cent listed
Social	23.70
ECA and Activities	21.09
Group work	13.26
Practical work	12.61
Content – knowledge	12.61
Teachers	4.35
Personal development	3.70
Results	2.39
Self-study	3.04

The group was then asked which personal qualities they thought were most important from an employer's point of view. Out of 431 responses, 75.87% chose Self discipline. Other

aspects included in more than 40% of responses were: Creativity and Use of technology. Bottom of the list were Curiosity and Originality. Results were consistent across colleges. When asked which qualities were developed during years at school, the main responses were: Self-discipline 69% Group work 51.4%, Understanding of others 42.7% and Creativity 41.3%. Again, the students perceive a clear concordance between what they think employers want and what schooling develops.

The survey group was then asked to give their score in the National College Entrance Examination (NCEE). There were 336 responses to this question. Though 480 responses were possible in theory, only students in their second year or above could in fact answer the question, since first year students had taken a different examination associated with the new secondary curriculum. NCEE remained the best score to use, since it applied to a majority of the students surveyed.

Table 5.25. Average NCEE scores overall, by college and by college type

Summary of NCEE scores	Exam score
Overall average	86
Averages for colleges	
ADM	88
DLS	97
FEU	83
PUP	87
TIP	86
UOE	80
UPH	99
Averages by college type	
1	98
2	87
3	81

The above averages are in line with findings from elsewhere (FEU 1995). The fact that the average NCEE scores for the three college levels chosen were so clearly different across

levels but similar within them is evidence of the validity of the assumptions made and the reliability of observed cross-level attitudinal differences.

When asked about school facilities and general quality of educational experience, most students seem to be satisfied with most aspects of school and college. Provision of textbooks and maintenance of facilities are not judged adequate, however, with only about 50% of students satisfied with these aspects. In general, students from lower quality colleges were less likely to be critical than students from the highest quality colleges. Over 95% of respondents believed that their education had developed their love of God, stressing that, as far as the students surveyed were concerned, one of the main goals set for education by national government in the Philippines is being achieved. Modernity theorists, however, associate less stress on religion with modern values. This is the only area where the sampled HE students' attitudes differed significantly from the generally defined set of modern attitudes.

5.2.17. Section H Comments

Respondents were given one full side of the questionnaire on which to offer their comments. Some 215 comments were made, but most merely offered more detail on answers given elsewhere. Answers were classified into categories. Some answers made highly specific points. These have not been forced into any of the more general categories, so the frequency of occurrence within some categories is one. A list of responses is shown in Table 5.26.

Table 5.26. General comments from respondents.

Comment	Frequency
General pro-education remarks	23
Widen access to education	6
General anti-education experience based on inadequate facilities	20
General anti-education experience based on poor quality (inc. poor teaching)	17
Fees too high	8
Wanted to do a different course, or about to transfer (almost all education students)	10
Poor quality of education in public schools	3
Good quality of education in public schools	2
Criticism of questionnaire (too long, boring etc.) (almost all from Univ. of the East)	13
Thanks for the questionnaire	15
High school used a split day, with two separate intakes in morning and afternoon	1
Best jobs always go to the elite	1
Success is based on individual endeavour	1
Success is down to luck	1
Anti-exam sentiment	1
Family is the important unit and influence	1
Job market is unfair, especially recruitment process	1
People migrate overseas to obtain higher status	1
Courses on offer are irrelevant	1
Criticism of international order and effect on Philippine development	1
Pro-nationalist sentiment	1
Contacts important for employment prospects	1

5.3. Results of the in-depth interviews[90] and group discussion

A striking and consistent observation was the different concept of the individual within poorer economic strata and lower social classes, both amongst the interviewees and amongst the urban poor community. A very strong influence on peoples' thinking was the concept of *pakikisama*. This translates roughly as 'peer relations', but also corresponds with what Lynch (1984) described as smooth inter-personal relations (SIR). Poorer respondents stressed their inter-relationship with others in the community, stating that in times when a person or family was suffering hard times, then others would share food and other resources to help out. In one interviewee's words, "when you are poor *pakikisama* is your

[90] Samples of detailed transcripts can be found in Appendix 6.

wealth". This created debts of gratitude, *utang na loob,* which must be honoured. Not to do so would risk provoking ill feeling, ostracism and withdrawal of future goodwill. The concept has also been extended to include 'levelling', the tendency of the Philippine poor not to want to stand out from the crowd by being too successful (Guthrie 1971). In rural settings this has the effect of not wanting to implement modern techniques to increase production and earnings (Weekes 1988). One interviewee, a member of an ethnic minority group from Mountain Province in northern Luzon, stressed that her people regarded all land as commonly owned, with an individual simply not having the right to use it for purely personal gain.

In urban poor communities, *pakikisama* also seemed to require that educationally an individual tries to perform in a manner similar to that of the peer group, so as not to threaten relationships. This calculated under-performance was not a reaction against education, an establishment, institution or imposed culture, but arose from a sense of common interest and inter-dependence. It identified immediately and acutely that pursuing individual advantage and achievement is related to class identity, economic status, institutional ethos or perhaps a belief in the relevance and benefit of the education process. Also, because of the inter-dependent nature of communities, too strong an assertion of individuality was seen as a risk which may have consequences for the individual's and the family's ability to sustain day-to-day life. Given that Philippine society is characterised by widespread poverty and educational under-achievement by poorer students, there appeared to be a mutually reinforcing pattern of wastage of potential skills and talent.

This finding requires some re-interpretation of the highly individualistic attitudes of the surveyed higher education students. Though not all of the survey participants were from the higher social and economic classes, there was a higher proportion of those groups

represented than in the wider population. Students from lower social or economic groups had to cope with the conflict generated by pressure to conform with attitudes associated with lower social status. It is perhaps valid, therefore, to conclude that lower class students have often had to forge new and different types of relationships with their peers, just to stay in the educational process. The attitudinal changes, according to the evidence in this study, must involve rejection of the value structures associated with their social background. Equally it is also indicative of the duality of the Philippine economy in that, in order to establish criteria for employment in the modern sector, a lower social class individual may need to shun publicly or sever connections with the deeply felt values and assumptions which characterise poorer communities.

Interviewees, however, were as convinced of the importance and efficacy of education as those who completed the questionnaire survey. Education meant access to jobs and thereby to personal and economic improvement or mobility. Educational survival, however, was identified more with the rich than the poor. It was seen to build confidence, self-reliance and a sense of responsibility for one's own actions. This identification of the growth in importance of the individual and individual action must be associated with a commensurate weakening of *pakikisama* and ties with community interests, so higher levels of education were associated with the development of a 'free agent'. Education also was seen to promote an awareness of God, without which, it was generally assumed in this intensely pious country, no-one can live any kind of life. It also, perhaps paradoxically, was seen as an agent building respect for elders. There is a possible source of conflict here, since exposure to education would be likely to reduce this.

That education develops skills was generally agreed. There was no evidence of an overt belief that education was merely a screening system. Amongst the less educated

interviewees, literacy and numeracy were identified as the most useful skills and were cited as prerequisites for any employment. It was recognised that wage employment, especially white-collar jobs with any degree of perceived status, needed English, and that it was education which developed this. In addition, education was seen to promote decision-making and analytical skills, which modernisation theory labels as allocative ability, a skill the interview respondents felt they themselves lacked.

In terms of overall appreciation of the role of education, it is remarkable that across social classes and economic groups, there was very little deviation from the almost unquestioning belief that the education process had the capability of delivering benefit, mobility, skills, employment, higher earnings and enhanced personal qualities. Respondents were unanimous that education should be for all, with the widest possible access being desired. There were consistent calls for increased government expenditure on education to increase both provision and quality. Inequality of opportunity within the system was also acutely perceived, however.

Poverty was repeatedly cited as the main reason for incomplete cycles of education, though other reasons were also given. Family problems, especially family break-up, were cited as another common reason for drop-out. Some students also dropped out because of the size of the debt they had built up to finance their education. It is not common, but also not unknown for parents to regard school fees as loans to their children. No evidence of this could be gleaned from analysis of the survey data, however. The answers to attitude question 51, 'My increased earnings as a result of education will not make up for what I have paid in school and college fees', was correlated with college type, with those from lower status colleges less confident about the quality of their investment.

Parents amongst the interviewees reported that anything between 40% and 80% of family income was spent on education and it appeared that the proportion of family expenditure devoted to education was higher for more highly educated parents. Respondents were keenly aware of a market in education, with private Catholic schools at all levels perceived as having the highest status. Private education in general was seen as superior in all respects to public. Only one interviewee chose a course of study to facilitate migration. In fact she dropped out of the course and so had no access to overseas work. Survey data was then investigated to establish if there was any evidence for linking particular courses of study with a desire to migrate for work. No such links were found.

The findings expressed above were corroborated during the meeting with urban poor women in Quezon City. A full report on that meeting can be seen in Appendix 5. Particularly interesting in that meeting was the confirmation that most primary school classrooms are highly competitive places, with a student's physical location in the room often linked to academic performance and general attitude. Given what emerged from the interviews about higher academic achievement being associated with a rejection of one's peers' general attitudes, this element of competition clearly makes such achievement a very difficult process for any individual, especially someone from a lower social class where rejection of peer values is also required. One interviewee, estranged from her husband and with seven children surviving from the 12 she had borne, had recently enrolled her 13 year old son in Grade 1 elementary school. His 12 year old sister collected garbage and sold cigarettes in the traffic to supplement family income to assist him. One can only assume that, despite his sister's efforts, he would start at the back of the class and stay there. His mother, however, still thanked her own schooling for literacy and numeracy, which enabled her to buy and sell, allowing her to make roughly a dollar a day.

An opinion expressed in the meeting, which was contradicted by the findings of the questionnaire, was that most young people wanted to become overseas workers for the higher status and earnings. The urban poor women basically regarded a full overseas contract worker as a person with a college degree and a good salary. Filipinos who migrated for the more poorly paid jobs were not regarded with any degree of envy, suggesting that even the urban poor community was seen as a better standard of life than that available as an unskilled worker overseas.

The urban poor group was highly positive about the potential role education might play in their children's lives. A high proportion of family income was spent on education (about 50%) and private, especially Catholic schools, were seen as higher status and quality than public. This private sector was seen as expensive, however, and beyond the means of most families. Some families, however, were funding education of this type for one or more children. They were acutely aware of the difference in ethos between public and private schools. The fees paid were seen as an investment in the student's greater chance of securing a well-paid job, but schooling differences in the family caused tensions when inadequate funds meant that not all children could benefit.

The highly competitive nature of the system, even at elementary level, was frequently cited. Teachers in public schools were criticised for absenteeism and lack of commitment and there was considerable dissatisfaction with general educational quality, school facilities, general conditions and teacher attitudes. Frequent references were made to inadequate school buildings, poor maintenance, too few resources, such as books, and lack of teachers. Interviewees described how students were often shamed or cursed by teachers in front of their classmates. Lack of provision for slow learners and non-existent careers guidance were also mentioned. Overall, public schools were perceived as not imparting the

right moral values. The teaching of reading and English language were heavily criticised, with this identified as the greatest hindrance to educational progress. An interviewee had used a proverb to describe the teacher as a "second parent", but then related that meals at the school canteen were more expensive than in local restaurants because the school's teachers were running it as a business for their own profit.

After some time, more negative views of education emerged. The urban poor group generally thought that to get quality, they would have to pay for higher status private schools, which they could not afford. An interviewee had said, "If education only guarantees the rights of those who have money, then it is not quality education". Employment chances were seen as linked to completion of private sector schooling and then college, the more elite, the better. Having identified that it was the rich who could afford these things and who could therefore benefit from education, it was also stated that there was no other choice of action available. To have little or no education would mean low paid casual work at best and no prospect of ever getting out of the shantytown.

5.4. Summary

The most striking characteristic to emerge from the interviews was the very different understanding of the scope for individual action amongst the less educated group. The interviewees with exposure to only primary or poor quality education did not seem to have developed the individuality characteristics that were so evident in the survey group. They wanted access to mobility, merit and material rewards, but they believed these things were not available to them. They believed that in order to attain the education that they saw as an essential stage in their achievement, they would need access to financial and other resources that they did not have. They expressed the view that only high quality education delivered products they desired and knew that they had access only to poor quality public

schools which cannot assist them. Much publicised aims of education policy in the 1980s and 1990s were the reform and improvement of public education, primary schools in particular, the provision of textbooks and the widening of access to education. It seems that the popular perception is that these goals were not achieved. The increased marketisation of higher and especially secondary education has in fact made it harder for people to access the kind of education that would produce the personal, social and national transformations which the now dominant policy sought to achieve.

Chapter Six

Results and conclusions

6.1. Introduction

Education in the Philippines has been ascribed many varied goals. It will stimulate modern development, inculcate democratic principles, mould individual and collective character, deliver and promote national identity and encourage spirituality, among others, as indicated in the 1987 constitution. This study has concentrated on perceptions of Philippine education, notably judgments as to whether the system is delivering all or any of the above goals and whether it promotes the formation of attitudes deemed essential for modernisation. Since Philippine society is highly stratified by class and inequality (Gerson 1988,1998), the study also addressed whether education re-affirmed these inequalities through class bias, screening or institutional ethos or whether it challenged them. It was further postulated that education might be promoting a migration mentality, leading to the export of a significant proportion of the system's graduates. The study investigated whether this process was perceived by participants in the system.

The following sections draw conclusions from theory and the observed results of the study. Interview and questionnaire findings are placed alongside relevant concepts to evaluate how Philippine education is perceived to operate in various areas. The intention is to present a rounded picture of the kind of attitudinal development promoted within Philippine education, as perceived by participants in the system.

6.2. Access to education, its role in development and employment prospects

Across the entire spectrum of interviewees and survey respondents there was an almost unquestioning belief that education contributes to personal and national development and that the widest possible access is essential. On access, there was general belief that

providing education for everyone would not be too expensive and that to do so would be beneficial for society as a whole. Reducing funds allocated to higher education, however, was not popular amongst those already in college. Clearly, participants in the system were fully aware that cutting costs would reduce the quality of service or increase fees or both.

Paying for education was seen as an investment especially amongst students in elite colleges, the higher social classes and amongst those with more highly educated parents. Significantly, those respondents in the lower status colleges were more sceptical, indicating a high degree of realism about the overall role of status in the job market. On perception of job opportunities, higher education students were divided. The more elite students of more highly educated parents were more worried about the availability of employment. This perhaps indicates a highly realistic appraisal of opportunities available and a less unquestioning belief in the ability of educational qualifications alone to deliver access to employment. On the other hand, it is also possible that students in the higher status universities were more ambitious and recognised that they would have to compete with their peers to realise their ambition.

Amongst survey respondents, there was a very strong belief that education was worthwhile and rewarding. This increased with status of college, social class and parent's education level. There was no evidence to support the prevalence of boring and mechanical activities aimed primarily at certification, as predicted in credentialist theory. Amongst interviewees at all levels, the same belief was expressed. But, at the institutional and educational status level, there were some clear differences. Overall quality was perceived as not having declined, but elite students think it has. Higher education respondents have generally had a good educational experience and were taught by qualified teachers. Those who attended public schools, however, tended to report poor quality facilities and buildings. Interview

respondents described a highly competitive and, for some, alienating atmosphere in public school classrooms, especially at elementary level.

Desire to be taught in English is strong, especially amongst elite students. When this is placed alongside findings from the PMAP (1994) survey, an interesting proposition emerges. English language proficiency is used as a screen by employers. Those with English may be considered for professional, white-collar or clerical employment depending on qualification. Those without proficiency in English are considered for blue-collar or 'vocational' positions. Filipinos who have not completed secondary school work mainly in the informal sector or part-time or in the most menial jobs in the modern sector, if they work at all. This, in itself, is evidence for the existence of a dual labour market and one where the qualifying credential is English language competence. There seems to be an abundance of college graduates with some English, but few opportunities for good quality employment. Graduates who could not obtain primary sector employment would then have three choices. They could:

1. re-enter education to upgrade their qualifications.
2. take lower status jobs in the secondary sector.
3. consider migration.

The first option would be too expensive for all but elite students. Of the students surveyed, only 3 students (0.6%) had actually completed a previous college course, indicating that there is little evidence in the Philippines for the credentialist notion that students will try to upgrade their qualification status. Some 39 students (8.1%) had attended more than college, but in most cases this represented the student re-starting the four-year cycle on a different course or as a repeater. A few students had completed two-year technician courses and were clearly upgrading to a full first degree. The second option is a realistic one, but rates of pay and status would be considered derisory. Option three is available

and, although many migrants would not be able to secure the status of employment they might desire, they would certainly earn more as a migrant in a secondary sector post overseas than they would in a similar post at home. Education in the Philippines, therefore, appears to provide a screen for employers in the form of English language competence. It also facilitates migration, but apparently does not promote it. If anything promotes migration from the Philippines, it is the push of lack of opportunity at home, except at low pay, coupled with the pull of at least similar status with higher pay overseas. This also explains why the educated are more likely to migrate and how this migration is facilitated by the use of English as education's medium of instruction.

Parents who can afford private elementary education know that it gives their children a head start since students in the sector work mainly through English, thus building up their language skills. Students in public schools work mainly through Tagalog or indigenous languages in the early years. Though this ought to improve cognition and knowledge acquisition in general, its potential effects are diminished by the highly competitive nature of the public school classroom, which does appear to conform in part to the alienating model described by screening theorists, but not for reasons predicted by the theory.

Curricular differences and the use of different languages in the lower levels of schooling allow elite monopoly of education to be maintained, since the elite sector uses primarily English. Questionnaire respondents were generally conservative in their lack of desire to see change in educational practices, however. Elite students, especially those who had attended private schools, did not think that there was too much rote learning, but agreed that many school subjects lacked relevance for most people. On the other hand, the students surveyed did perceive that their chosen course of study was completely relevant

for their intended career. College degrees, therefore, were not seen primarily as credentials in a screening process.

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Males were more critical of their school experience than females, but overall there was no significant difference on acquiescence between males and females, contradicting the findings of Lynch (1984). There was a greater tendency to acquiesce amongst public school students, who are also generally lower class, so there may be a much greater level of dissatisfaction about education in general than was expressed in answers to the questionnaire. This might add some weight to the screening hypothesis, since it would indicate that the school's certification function might have deleterious effects on the curriculum, in line with Dore's (1980) suggestion. It also tallies with responses from interviewees. After expressing a generally positive opinion about their own and their children's education, they tended to temper this on deeper questioning. Several criticisms then came to light about public schools in particular. These related to poor teaching, perceived deterioration in quality, the highly competitive nature of the classroom, the alienation felt by those belittled in the process and a sense that some students were rejected by teachers and school systems alike. That there was no alternative, and that, given the choice, everyone would opt for a private Catholic education were also clearly stated, as was the fact that the latter option was beyond the means of most people. Overall, however, the survey responses were very positive about all kinds of schools. They praised teachers, curriculum and many other aspects of education, with the main negative area being that of dissatisfaction with facilities and resources.

6.3. Human capital, functionalism, skills and productivity.

Philippine education is definitely perceived as generating human capital in the form of employable skills and aptitudes. The current study has examined perceptions of human capital from several qualitative angles and the findings are consistent.

Over 88% of those surveyed expected a job directly related to the content of their study and in line with the intended progression from their course. In interviews at all levels respondents displayed little or no tendency to doubt whether the content of study and the eventual employment type were not only strongly linked, but no less than necessary and essential elements in a single process. Studying criminology leads to employment as policeman, education leads to teaching, and accountancy to an accountant. If more general courses, such as those in business or commerce, do not have a completely clear focus, this is not a characteristic peculiar to the Philippines. It would be expected that if screening was seen as a major element in employment selection, then both participants within the system and observers from without would perceive it by questioning the functional link between what is learned and its eventual practical application.

Philippine higher education is often criticised on the grounds of quality. Graduates are described as lacking in employment skills and competence. The PMAP survey (1994) found that some employers had complaints about skill levels of some applicants. On the whole, however, this would not appear to be any more marked a criticism than would be found elsewhere. Indeed, the fact that so many Filipinos secure employment overseas suggests that employers in general are satisfied with the skill levels on offer. Complications arising from the competitive advantage conferred by English language skills and willingness to accept positions perceived as below their qualification level may question this assumption. On balance, however, there are so many Filipino migrants in

technical and skilled positions overseas that the levels of human capital formation across the system as a whole are acceptable. This does not rule out that qualification level and type may influence or even determine the type of migration - spontaneous or managed - available to an individual, which would constitute a different form of screening.

The study does not disprove that screening operates within the Philippines. What is suggested is that it is not *perceived* as the prime method of selection for first employment. The possession or otherwise of particular functional skills is the prime and overwhelmingly accepted qualification for employment. A small proportion (2.7%) of students implied that their participation in education might lead to 'any job' and less than 12% indicated a job unrelated to their course of study. This response was not linked either to social class of respondent or to institution attended. There was a slight tendency for it to be associated with especially low status courses such as education, but this link was not found to be significant. If screening were perceived as *the* prime mechanism for employment selection, then a significant proportion of the responses ought to have questioned this direct functional link. The survey participants seemed willing and able to express opinions and to respond accurately to the complex questionnaire, indicating their well-developed allocative ability. If screening were the prime employment selection mechanism, it would be apparent - even obvious - to a large proportion of the students in the system. This sample of highly intelligent and competent students did not identify screening as operating in the Philippines.

Some respondents listed high status occupations as their desired option. Such things as 'manage' or 'own business' may not indicate a direct functional link between content of study and employment activity, but equally these students did not imply that this eventual

intended ambition would in any way by-pass prior employment in their chosen field. Such responses, therefore, did not represent evidence of a belief that screening applies.

Responses to the question, "education builds skills which employers value and use", elicited over 95% agreement in the survey. Almost 85% of respondents believed that education promotes national development and almost two thirds agreed that quality of human capital had a direct bearing on economic performance. Three quarters of the sample believed that literacy and numeracy development throughout the entire population was desirable, implying that acquiring the skills themselves was perceived as beneficial.

Whether all parts of the system generate these skill levels, however, is debatable. There was evidence from interviewees and some survey respondents that the public education system concentrates heavily on competition and selection, thus suggesting that screening may be its prime function. This opens up the possibility that, if screening does operate in the Philippines, then the prime area where it operates is in access to higher education. A combination of competition, poor quality and inconsistent curricula in public schools ensures that only a minority of students from that sector will have access to a college education. This screening operates via elementary and high school graduation grades and via English language competence, since the higher education entrance exam is in English. It also operates via cost, since quality courses and institutions, both at the secondary and higher levels are expensive, as observed by Cortes (1993). The increased marketisation of education brought about by the application of the education reforms of the 1970s and 1980s, therefore, can only have strengthened the screening role of higher education by making it more expensive. It therefore reduced the system's potential to stimulate mobility via merit, a product that the policy, itself, saw as desirable.

If screening does operate in the Philippines, it is attending college and completing a course that is its prime mechanism. The questionnaire respondents were beyond the screen and knew it, so it was no longer a concern for them. The interview respondents, especially the least educationally qualified, stressed the importance of education to the highest level, wanted their children to achieve that status and, though it was expensive, perceived no possible alternative.

6.4. Individualism

One of the most striking and consistent findings is in the promotion of individuality and the ideology of individual worth and identity, rather than group association. The concept has various facets: power over one's own future; one's right to pursue personal and potentially independent priorities; the ability and freedom to make personal decisions. Exposure to education and to higher status education in particular seems to develop this trait very strongly indeed.

Though the study did not research individual and group identity and allegiance among the whole population, it seemed to corroborate previous findings. Group identity and inter-dependence were very strong within poorer and less educated communities, with the concept of *pakikisama* pragmatically uppermost amongst criteria mediating action and interaction. This can be seen as a social, cultural, psychological or perhaps economic characteristic. It is perhaps an holistic response to economic and social inter-dependence, an essential tactic in an overall strategy of coping with poverty, poor life chances, lack of employment and everything else associated with the exigencies of marginality. It is not specifically a rural or ethnic phenomenon. It may have roots in historical and deeply held 'traditional' values, but as described and expressed in interviews during the current study, it seems to be a response to the economic conditions within which poor communities have to

survive. People in such situations cannot afford individuality, because they do not have access to the resources needed to support self-sufficiency. Their only fall-back position in hard times is the community and their peers. Reliance on group identity is thus associated with poorer communities, lower social class, insecure employment and lower educational achievement. Equally, higher levels of individualism are associated with higher social class, greater wealth and greater access and exposure to education.

Amongst higher education students surveyed, almost 95% believed that solving one's own problems was a sign of success and strength and 85% perceived that they themselves would determine their own future. They believe education promotes independent thinking and demand the right to make their own employment decisions. They believe that it is good to question prevailing assumptions and to disagree when appropriate.

Growth in individualism, more than any other aspect, reduces adherence to fatalism. The role of luck is downgraded, relative to that which pertains amongst less educated groups. Increased awareness of individual potential, however, does not necessarily alienate the individual from existing structures. Education is perceived as promoting an understanding of others and, if required, the family is always there to help if the individual cannot cope. But the hegemony of unquestioning adherence to the views of elders has been eroded, as has any perceived requirement to reproduce particular economic, employment or social identity. Unquestioning respect for elders decreases with increased exposure to education and forms a major cultural transformation, towards the positivism predicted by modernisation, which must be effected by lower status and poorer students to secure educational progression. The transformation is significantly easier for other groups where promotion and accommodation of these attitudes is already stronger through its development in primary socialisation. Though the influence of the family is decreased by

the educational process, its continued importance to many individuals at all educational levels indicates that it is not an attitude of rejection which is engendered.

Collectively, the attitude questions allowed evaluation of how individuality was perceived across society in general and different educational levels in particular. As a society-level characteristic, individualism was viewed very positively across college types and social classes. There was equally strong agreement that it is promoted and developed by education, with lower status colleges the most conscious of this, perhaps because of the extra compensatory emphasis placed on the development of a trait known to be associated with higher status institutions. Across both the social and educational effects, as defined in this study, it was the educational background of the respondents' parents that appeared to be most strongly linked with a desire for, and expressions of individuality.

Hofstede's notion of individualism includes the desire for material success. Although inclusion of this aspect did not alter the overall desirability of individualism, the higher social class students expressed distinct reluctance to advertise wealth and status. Here, perhaps, is a perfect example of the difference between intention and action. Though these individuals may express a reluctance to display wealth and status, one may assume that when they achieve both then they will pursue a material lifestyle to match their resources.

The concept of individualism is central to modernisation, since it weakens family ties, promotes association with career function and increases the pursuit of materialism. Education does indeed appear to engender greater individualism and participants are aware of its development. Furthermore, the current study suggests that this occurs independently of class or institutional background through a specifically educational effect. A different

kind of survey would be required to exclude the possibility that it arises out of the self-selection of individuals with a greater initial propensity to develop the trait, however.

6.5. Fertility

A generally held opinion is that increased levels of education are associated with lower birth rates and having families later in life. National birth rates in the Philippines remain high and families are large. The widespread and pious adherence to Roman Catholicism means that at least officially birth control is shunned. Among interview respondents, lower social class subjects tended to be from larger families. Among the college students surveyed, 53% were either first or second born. Links were identified with social class and parental educational level, with higher social class and more highly educated parents having fewer and later children. This was seen as desirable among survey respondents. Directly challenging the Catholic Church teaching by questioning whether having children is the purpose of marriage produced a split response on the side of disagreement. In a country where religion and the church play such an important part, it is remarkable that such a high proportion of respondents was willing to indicate disagreement.

Overall, however, there was strong adherence to the desirability of lower fertility rates, especially amongst females and those with highly educated mothers. Education clearly has the effect of promoting lower fertility and having families later in life, and not just because it occupies the individual's time!

6.6. Migration

Interviews conducted to establish directions for the current study suggested a strong belief that many young Filipinos wanted to migrate for work and that such people identified with a strongly pro-Western outlook. Attitudes towards migration were examined in several

ways, both through interviews and questionnaires. Some people do want to migrate and some people pursue education in order to facilitate this. On the basis of the current survey, about 8% of higher education students think this way. About two thirds definitely want to stay at home, with around a quarter of the respondents uncommitted. The respondents do, however, agree that education facilitates an overseas move, if that is desired. From interviews there was evidence that particular courses of study were perceived as directly facilitating an overseas move, especially by those with a pre-existing desire to migrate.

Overall, it seems that across the whole society people understand very accurately what is at stake and how the education and employment systems operate. The current survey found almost 70% of higher education students able to identify at least one overseas contract worker (OCW) in the extended family. Though there was no apparent link between having a migrant in the family and social class, lower social class respondents were more likely to report an immediate family member working overseas. Also, the migrant's work type showed a link with the respondent's social class, providing support for the idea that different types of migratory pressure act in different sectors of society. The findings suggest that both push and pull factors operate on lower social class and less educated migrants, rendering the process managed in Hauser's (1985) terminology. Professional and higher social class migrants conform to the spontaneous model, however, influenced mainly by pull factors. Given that lower social class families show a greater likelihood of having an immediate family member working overseas, this suggests that one motivation to migrate may be the provision of school and college fees at home.

The reported locations of OCWs are concentrated in a few areas. Portes and Walton's (1981) criteria seem to be important, in that the migration does seem to involve particular sectors of Philippine society and that the movements conform to patterns, especially in

areas where there are existing linkages. It suggests that networking of information about migration does operate. Attitudes towards migration suggest that Bello et al's (1984) finding that about 7% of graduates migrate still applies. Bello also found that the more elite graduates showed the highest tendency to migrate, though in the current study members of the elite colleges were the most vehement in their determination to stay at home. This underlines the fact that the current study is about perceptions and not actions. The eventual greater migration levels of elite graduates, if demonstrated, adds further weight to the pull character of the process in their case. Reasons for their migration do not arise until after employment and career have begun. Where push factors predominate, these are presumably known in advance, except in the case where inability to find a job after graduation adds a further factor. The general result was confirmed by answers in Section E of the questionnaire, where there were strong indications that the respondents wanted to stay at home, especially amongst elite colleges. As first choice for employment, the Philippines drops by about 20% when the actual likelihood of obtaining employment is raised. This indicates realism about employment prospects and identifies lack of growth and development at home as a significant push factor in migration decisions. Students were generally - and surprisingly - unaware of employment possibilities in ASEAN and showed a marked preference to migrate to the USA if they were forced into making a move.

The motivation for making any move, however, seems to be highly pragmatic for most migrants. There are basically two reasons for migrating - higher earnings and employment opportunity. Higher status thereby gained was a secondary but less important aspect. No other motivation for migration was significant. Urban poor interviewees did not appear to be well informed about the type of work done by OCWs or the salary levels to be expected and perceived the migration option as available primarily to the educated.

About half of the respondents in the survey had moved from the family home to attend college. Given the Harris-Todaro model of migration, where the perceived benefits at destination are deemed to motivate the process, and given further the suggestion that moving for education might be a first stage in step-wise migration, it might be expected - especially among those who have moved for college - that there would be evidence of an incorporation of a pro-migratory ethos into students' attitudes. The current survey found this was not the case. The conclusion, therefore, is that push factors predominate in migration of Filipinos, the prime contender being the low probability of social mobility or even modern sector employment on graduation. Underlining the difference between attitude and action, females are more opposed to the idea, but - given current patterns - will be more likely actually to migrate. Parents' educational level is also significant, with students having higher educated parents more opposed to migration.

Education in the Philippines does not appear to be a direct contributory factor to overseas migration. It does teach skills, generate human capital and, perhaps most importantly, develop English language competence, all of which are in demand in the international labour market. The Philippines produces large numbers of highly educated, qualified, competent English-speaking graduates who are willing to accept low wage rates. There exist professionals from many countries and in many sectors, who migrate for career advancement, increased status and higher earnings. There are also many nations with large pools of unskilled labour, which can be hired at low wage rates. The Philippines has these groups also, but it is one of only a few countries offering a supply of English-speaking college graduates, who can competently occupy service, clerical and other white collar positions at relatively low pay. There might be evidence here for an international division of labour of the type suggested by Portes and Walton (1981). The current study suggests,

however, that there is no evidence to indicate that the education process or system per se promotes either migration or attitudes which make it more likely.

6.7. Elementary education

Perhaps the most interesting result relates to an aspect which was not stressed in the original design. This lies in the area of elementary education. Four types of elementary school were identified from responses and theory - private Catholic, private, public urban and public rural. There were significant correlations between elementary school type, high school type, college level and social class. This pointed to the elite status of private education and of the private Catholic schools in particular, plus the high degree of class stratification within the system. In the Philippine education market, the private Catholic schools offer the highest quality product and this is accessible primarily to higher earning and higher status families. This was corroborated consistently by interview data. There are, however, school and college effects which are independent of class. Education does not simply re-affirm existing beliefs and identities. It may re-confer and confirm status, but it does not do it simply by reproducing pre-existing beliefs.

Especially in higher education, attending an elite institution gives access to higher paid employment. But the survey suggests that the most important tactic to employ to achieve this status is to pay for Catholic elementary school. If screening operates explicitly and identifiably in the Philippines, it operates at the age of five - and perhaps even before, since it is often not possible to gain entry into most of the prestigious elementary schools unless a child is an existing kindergarten student. Places are few in number, expensive and awarded subject to entrance examination (at the age of five) conducted in English (Nyuda 1995). There is an identifiable screen and it operates via a combination of wealth and ability to use English.

On grounds of cost, accessibility and language, only the highest social and economic class families can even aspire to send their children to such schools. But there is no better way of increasing the child's chance of eventual educational success and thereby access to highly paid jobs. From the first day in kindergarten, it is the child's adoption and use of English which will be the mechanism which will equip the student to satisfy the screening requirements. Higher education students in the current survey were not conscious of a screen operating directly in college or high school. This is perhaps because by high school age, they have already come through it.

Social class and high school type were highly correlated, with higher social class parents favouring private Catholic schools. High school type is also highly correlated with college status, with over half of the whole group coming from private Catholic or other private schools. A market in education does operate in the Philippines, and at all levels those involved understand perfectly well how it operates. This knowledge led several of the urban poor families interviewed to spend approximately half of the family earnings on sending just one of several children to a private Catholic school, other children being required through lack of resources to attend lower status schools.

6.8. Neo-colonial identity and state formation

Critics of Philippine education have often referred to its neo-colonial status. Given the account of education's perceived historical role, it is striking how similar was the situation in the 1990s to that which pertained at the turn of the 20th century. Taking both the Spanish and US periods together, common threads characterising colonial education were its general availability, its varied quality, its use of a non-indigenous language in the elite

sector and an indigenous language in the public sector, its perceived role in state formation and its stratification into identifiable elite and non-elite sectors.

A century later, there are still calls for education to help define and promote the identity of a Filipino nation (Rola 1992). The language of instruction throughout the system remains a foreign one, where nationally on standardised tests, teachers, who may speak neither English nor Tagalog, display lower competence than the students (Harper1995). Issues of elite domination, centralisation, drop-out and access still need to be addressed.

The elite products of education, as demonstrated in the current study, are culturally different from other Filipinos and, via private elementary schools, private high schools and elite colleges, are prepared for a lifestyle which is unavailable to and unattainable by the vast majority of the population. Philippine education conforms to the Western type, as described by Hawes and Stephens (1990), with the proviso that it may only be a force for change in this one aspect of enculturation of the lower social classes into adopting certain attitudes which, in the Philippines, means largely elite attitudes. At the start of the twentieth century, the Philippines had a recognised regional advantage in human capital over its neighbours. After a century of ostensibly high enrolments in all education sectors, it is still not generating economic development at the rate of its neighbours despite its original human capital advantage; and neither is it, because of poor chances of social mobility, developing a growing middle class (Manila Times 1995). Its regional neighbours, in contrast, have widened access to education at all levels whilst also improving quality. Opportunities for employment and through that social mobility in their fast-growing economies have created a mutually reinforcing process of educational and social development that the Philippines, at the start of the reform period, sought to create for

itself. It is perhaps the education system's highly inegalitarian nature and its domination by a small elite sector which has prevented the attainment of this goal.

The survey suggests that the education system seems to be effective in developing modern attitudes in all of those who survive beyond secondary level. But it is the high direct costs and the highly stratified nature of Philippine education, especially at the elementary and secondary levels, that creates a screen and then operates it. Application of the dominant education sector policy in recent decades has accentuated this effect by raising costs at the secondary level and lowering overall educational quality in the public sector. Enrolments in private elementary education even increased during the reform period (Swinterton 1991). Concentration of effort and funding on elementary education has therefore increased the power of the screening effect, lowered overall quality and reduced access to those sectors of education that can improve both employment and qualification status. The society as a whole has never afforded sufficient opportunity for the human capital resources it develops to be exploited. The elite's near monopoly of ownership of educational resources has stultified growth in most sectors, except those sanctioned by that elite. High status professionals still look towards the USA for professional fulfilment. Meanwhile, internal systems are allowed no leeway for change. It is hard to reject the relevance of Shalom's (1981) definition of neo-colonial identity in this context.

6.9. Duality

Myrdal (1971) asserts that monopoly of education and land provides the most fundamental basis of inequality. Putzel (1991) described the highly unequal pattern of land ownership and how successive attempts at reform, both re-distributive and structural, had been effectively undermined by the land-owning elite's influence and representation in the political process. The current study concludes that Philippine education, despite apparently

high levels of access, literacy and achievement, is a dual system mirroring a wider dual economy. One segment of the duality includes almost all public sector education, both primary and secondary. It is characterised by poor quality, highly competitive and selective methods within the classroom, rote learning and poor achievement, coupled to the acquisition of only low levels of English language skills. Graduates of the system are characterised by their tendency towards acquiescence, adherence to smooth inter-personal relations (*pakikisama*), lower levels of competence in English and less developed functional skills and competencies as a result of generally poorer educational experience.

The other segment of Philippine education includes a very few privileged state elementary and high schools (usually associated with prestigious colleges) plus the private sector schools and colleges, especially those managed by the Catholic Church and religious orders. A market operates, with gradations of cost perceived - perhaps accurately - to be linked with gradations of status, class and quality. The institutions, themselves, are characterised by seven, not six year elementary cycles, high fees, widespread use of English, entrance tests and generally high quality teaching materials and facilities. In Solomon's (1987) terms, these institutions are highly integrated into the modern sector of the economy, reflecting both the skills and attitudes demanded by it. The close procedural and ideological links between the private education sector and the modern segment of the economy thereby provide a self-fulfilling perennial opportunity for the institutions to re-confirm their educational quality by again succeeding in securing significant employment or progression opportunities and status for their students.

Graduates of the elite private sector are characterised by their confidence, highly developed English language skills and, crucially for the current study, highly developed 'modern' attitudes, including individualism, assertiveness, rationality, scepticism and decision-

making skills. Where functional skills may be lacking, on-the-job training may supply them. If English language skills are lacking, the applicant will not even be considered for the modern sector post. Employment selection appears to treat graduates of colleges in the same marketised way that the colleges themselves operate. A pecking order of institutional type and reputation applies, and opportunities in the modern sector are often offered via quota systems which reflect this[91].

Pressure for reform has rarely emerged above the level of rhetoric and, when policies have been formulated and enacted, they have concentrated mainly on the public sector. This has left the private institutions, the major manifestation of inequality within the system, unchanged, thus preserving their status and privilege on behalf of those who use them. Enacted reforms in the public system have been poorly targeted, under-funded and inconsistently applied, resulting in only partial transformation of limited aspects of the sector at best.

Furthermore, reforms which might have achieved results have been impermanent and undermined by perennial lack of resources. Policy has tended towards rhetorical palliative populist measures designed to satisfy only short-term political ends. The introduction of a seven year elementary cycle in the 1950s was widely welcomed, for instance, but no new resources were made available to public schools and the policy was thus never enacted, except in the elite private schools (Cruz and Caldo 1975). The recent policy of free secondary education falls squarely into this mould. Nominally free, secondary education still has associated charges and schooling of worth is still *only* available in the private sector and at a high price. In 1991 the Congressional Commission on Education said that:

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[91] Corroborated during an interview with A. de Guzman in UP. This data was collected alongside the PMAP study, but not published within it.

> "The formal school system is like a great sorting machine, which keeps children from well off families and throws out children from poor and rural families" (Baglos 1992).

Knowing the problem acutely, however, the Philippines government was still unable to formulate policy to address the same issues which were the remit of the PCSPE over twenty years earlier. In the meantime, positive aspects of both the PRODED and SEDP initiatives have been undermined by debt, increased poverty, poor funding and economic stagnation. The greater stress on the marketisation of education has meanwhile increased the status disparity between the private and public sectors. The dysfunctions identified by PCSPE and addressed in PRODED and SEDP have therefore intensified, in spite of attempted reform and, perhaps, even because of that reform, through its concentration of resources on primary education and ideological requirement to create a market in secondary and tertiary education.

6.10. Social mobility and perceived employment opportunity

Almost all respondents implicitly believe that education is capable of endowing social mobility. There is also a strong belief that it identifies merit and develops abilities, and that it teaches skills and aptitudes which are in demand in the workplace. Those with parents having higher levels of education appear to be more convinced of this than others, but equally they are more sceptical than the average of education's ability actually to deliver the desired results. This same group believes that there are generally fewer opportunities to utilise these qualities, however, compared to what was available in the past. They are conscious that ever-larger investments have to be made in education in order to secure the possible benefits as qualifications inflate. Meanwhile, lower status groups feel there is no option but to invest as much as possible in education, often concentrating this out of

necessity on a single individual in the family and thereby denying access to others. The hope is for a modern sector job in a market which is increasingly competitive.

A combination of rising levels of personal educational investment, increasing marketisation of the process, educated unemployment, informal employment, qualification inflation and migration mysteriously balance. While other nations in the region experienced growth, industrialisation, modernisation and social transformation in the second half of the twentieth century, the Philippines changed to a lesser degree. Intra-elite competition has always characterised the society, so continued qualification inflation and greater stratification of the education process by market forces are both guaranteed, even without wider access to higher education for lower social classes. Competition among the elite alone to secure one of the limited places in the most prestigious institutions effectively guarantees to increase both costs and qualification levels desired (Nyuda 1995).

6.11. Institutional effects

Having stressed stratification by social class and economic means, it must be borne in mind that the current study did not find that education merely re-confirmed existing status. Certain attitudes were found to be associated with particular social classes and the higher education colleges surveyed were shown to be stratified by social class. But, overlaying this was another set of attitudes associated with the assumed college level. This was related to, but different from those associated only with social class. This raises two vital points.

First it adds weight to Berger and Luckman's (1984) theories that institutions and institutional sectors develop their own sets of identities and traditions. Attitudinal effects are different, depending on the status level of college attended and perhaps even the individual college, a possibility which was not investigated in this study. This

differentiation by legitimation, as described by Berger and Luckman (1984) and by Bock (1982), is recognised even by employers, who identify particular institutions and sectors as more likely to provide recruits who will fit their employment needs. Both Williamson (1979) and Solomon (1987) shed further light on this aspect. The former recognises that systems may not be unified. They may have separate strata with different characteristics, experiences and aims. The latter postulates that greater success - or indeed greater opportunity, skills development or human capital formation - will accrue where institutions are better attuned to the modern sector of the economy. One need look no further than the stress on English language acquisition in the private sector and English language proficiency as criteria for employment to confirm the existence of different educational sectors and identify the mechanism by which entry into the modern sector is achieved.

Secondly, the finding suggests that the education process is still capable, as a result of its own internal dynamic, of stimulating change. The current Philippine system confers and confirms status. Screening and limited employment opportunity combine to emphasise the social reproduction function of education. But, at the same time, it generates something different, being attitudes and values in its graduates which are different from those associated with class alone. Greater exposure to education and participation at different levels of the process appear to increase the likelihood of this change. In the wider society, therefore, any changes, either in policy or general economic or social circumstances, may create conditions where these changed attitude characteristics could promote even further change and reinforce the new state of affairs. The fact that the changed attitude profiles currently cannot find any avenue of expression confirms the finding that the social reproduction function is paramount and that education as a whole may be dysfunctional in how it influences the development performance of the nation.

6.12. Attitudinal development in general

The current study of attitudes amongst Filipino students concurs very closely with those of Guthrie (1971) and Lynch (1984), and conforms to generalised descriptions of Filipino culture and values cited earlier. There appears to be a clear difference between the community and peer orientation of the less educated, centring on *pakikisama* and smooth interpersonal relations and the modern value orientation of the more educated. No significant overall difference was found between the levels of acquiescence among male and female respondents, which was suggested by Lynch. Acquiescence decreased, however, with higher social class and, especially, higher college status.

Respondents in higher education generally displayed the modern traits which theory suggests are transmitted by the education process. Higher education students believe themselves to be independent and individualistic. They espouse a career focus alongside function and future orientation. They support industrial development by exploitation of technology and the general modernisation of society. They reject the influence of luck on their lives and see themselves as in control of their own future. They are generally convinced that education promotes development, both national and personal and, with reservations, see education as a means of securing employment, higher earnings and mobility. Furthermore, they are highly functionalist, regarding education as inculcating skills and knowledge which will be directly utilised in employment, and "modern" in that they believe that the educated, professional sector of the economy is vital to assist national development.

Strong links with social class and parents' education level suggest the pre-existence of these values in a self-selected group who form the majority of participants in higher education. Value differences linked to institution quality level were detected, however, and

these were different from those associated with social background. Students from lower social classes were seen to conform not only to those attitudes associated with class, but also, and significantly, with those associated with institution quality level or status. This suggests that there is a particular attitude formation function at work within the educational process. The likelihood that these attitudes will be formed increases with continued exposure to the process and higher levels of achievement. Indeed, interviews suggested that this was one of the strongest determinants of whether a lower social class student would progress through the system, along with English language acquisition. Though the sample of lower class students in elite institutions was small, there is nevertheless evidence to suggest that Philippine education's effective promotion of modern attitudes has been demonstrated, certainly in the areas most obviously linked to the modern sector.

Whether the system as a whole promotes modern attitudes is doubtful. Interview data certainly suggest that those who do not complete high school and those who are educated predominantly in public sector schools do not develop the full set of modern attitudes listed above, demonstrating that recent educational reforms may not have been effective in achieving their stated attitudinal goals. This study finds that Philippine public elementary education, access to which the reforms prioritised, is almost certainly incapable of delivering the envisaged attitudinal development. It seems that to make these changes students must at least complete secondary education of reasonable quality. By further marketising this sector, the dominant policy reduced access to quality secondary education, and thereby reduced the system's overall capacity to deliver the desired attitudinal change.

As described in Chapter Two, modernisation theorists suggested that pluralistic outlook was an attitude which would be associated with modernity. The survey group in general did not value pluralism and generally did not see education as promoting it. Though not

tested directly in the survey, a strong sense of conformity seemed to pertain. The students surveyed did not express distaste for or opposition to alternative attitudes or cultures, but the pattern of responses indicate that there might be an assumption that those who held such different views should conform to the accepted pattern.

Guthrie's (1971) findings associated a subsistence outlook, 'levelling' (not wanting to stand out from the group), fear of failure, non-probabilistic thinking and respect for elders with lower social status. Upper social groupings and the highly educated were associated with less emphasis on family, political independence, ability to influence events and changed aspirations. The current study finds very similar results across an exclusively urban sample. But amongst the less educated and lower social classes in urban areas, the current study finds that people are acutely aware of what they need to achieve higher status and security, and that is quality education. Higher costs resulting from increased marketisation of education have put this beyond most families' means, however. Thus, the current study suggests that attitudinal differences previously identified as 'traditional versus modern' are perhaps better understood merely as ways of coping with very different economic circumstances.

6.13. Concluding remarks

The study has examined attitudinal development within the highly marketised and largely privately-funded Philippine education system and finds that it does promote modern attitudes and values, with those values being more completely and effectively promoted by greater exposure to formal education, especially higher quality education. Exposure only to elementary or secondary education, especially that of lower quality generally perceived as associated with the state system, is much less effective in developing these values.

Though the attitudes and values associated with participation in formal education are similar to those associated with elite status, crucially they are not the same. Philippine education, therefore, does not merely reproduce an existing elite. There exists at least the potential for change as predicted by modernisation via the dynamic of a new elite, but since the difference between the two attitude sets is small, this dynamic, it is concluded, may facilitate no more than intra-elite rivalry. In this way, Philippine education in the 1990s retained the essential elements that have always characterised the system. Education in the Philippines remains highly stratified, reflecting divisions in the wider society and economy.

Higher education is found to be effective in developing 'modern' attitudes and values, with the system's graduates being highly individualistic, self-motivated, aware of opportunities and able to evaluate their chances of attaining them. They believe that education is essential, generates employable skills and, for an individual, that it can facilitate increased earnings and thereby social mobility. But access to higher education is still almost exclusively limited to those who have previously attended private elementary and secondary schools. The public sector appears to be less effective in promoting the system's attitudinal goals, but the prime reason for this seems to be the sector's inability to inculcate the required English language competence. Its relative under-performance, therefore, remains an issue of quality of provision when compared to the private sector, a dichotomy which has persisted since the beginning of mass education in the Philippines. There is evidence for an employment screen, with the possession of English language skills and the experience of private elementary education being the best predictors of future prospects, but educational experience did not appear to influence attitudes towards overseas migration.

The system is still perceived to promise the possibility of social mobility, but the system as a whole stresses education's social reproduction function. Higher social classes continue their near monopoly of quality education thus undermining education's ability to stimulate economic development. Attitudinal differences across quality levels of education also exist, with elite education apparently closely aligned with the attitudinal characteristics of the modern sector of the economy. Higher education remains, it appears, primarily a site of intra-elite rivalry, as it was during the colonial periods. High quality education and its associated values are prerequisites for modern sector employment, though their achievement is necessary, not sufficient, since there are limited opportunities and high levels of competition. This point is confirmed from the survey results, where the more elite students were convinced that their education was most useful in helping to get a job in the Philippines, but were also less confident than the non-elite students that they would actually find employment.

After recent economic difficulties, demand for education has increased, leading to qualification inflation. This, along with generally increased poverty, has accentuated educational stratification, thus rendering the system as a whole dysfunctional in the task of promoting its stated attitudinal goals. In recent years, this has been exacerbated by an even greater marketisation of education as a result of official policy during the debt decade.

The current high levels of human capital formation appear to represent consumption rather than investment, despite the widely held belief in the latter amongst participants in the system. The export of this human capital can only be seen as a loss to the economy as a whole, irrespective of remittances flowing the other way. The education system illustrates how a combination of internal policy failure and continued domination of the economy by an elite group conspire to maintain the Philippines' apparently perennial status as a laggard

in modern development. Large numbers of graduates, aspiring to the attitudinal and personal achievement ambitions of the elite group thereby align themselves ideologically with a "foreign" language-speaking value system. But opportunities to participate in the modern sector of the economy, where these characteristics are demanded, are limited, so it is not surprising that a significant proportion seeks participation in that sector wherever it can be found. So without actually prompting a migration mentality, the values inherent in Philippine education facilitate the migration option, but it is the structure of the society, itself, which promotes this response, not specific characteristics of education, which continues to mirror wider social relations.

The current study claims to be a descriptive study, a snapshot of one particular facet of Philippine education. Given this limitation, however, it did attempt to identify the attitude and value characteristics identified with participation in:

a) education per se
b) different education levels
c) higher and lower quality institutions, as defined by cost, prestige and entry requirements.

In addition, it sought to establish the extent to which participation in education promoted a migration mentality via the adoption of "foreign" values, with all the above goals having been identified via consultation with Filipino partners. Despite its limitations, the study has achieved its aims. Attitudinal characteristics of more and less educated urban individuals have been researched, described and contrasted. This has revealed that education does promote the kind of attitudinal change predicted by theory, that the attitudinal characteristics of the more educated tend to be aligned with those identified with "modernization" and that, in theory and substance, these remain remarkably similar to the attitudinal goals identified for education when the system was first expanded under US

colonial rule. Education does not, contrary to the belief of my Filipino partners, promote "foreign" cultural capital, and does not promote migration. Migration, indeed, has been found to be most likely prompted by the country's on-going inability to provide sufficient modern sector jobs to meet the aspirations of graduates who know the quality of their own human capital and also have to achieve an earnings level that will repay their investment in education. Poorer Filipinos, unlike in previous studies, are found to be just as "modern" as their higher social class and higher educated compatriots, but their opportunity to display these traits is limited by economic necessity, which, itself, bars them from participation in education of sufficient quality to make higher status or earnings available to them. Given that education reform in the Philippines aimed to increase access to higher quality education, this study's description of the system has provided an explanation, in Bain's (1928) and Benjamin's (1941) terms, of why the reforms have effectively narrowed access rather than widening it, without challenging the apparently and enduringly ascriptive nature of participation in the elite sector.

The study has thus demonstrated that the current dominant educational policy paradigm:

1. developed via World Bank and IMF involvement in the Philippine education system in the 1970s and 1980s.
2. is based on the1950s modernisers' view of the role of education in economic development.
3. requires - as an essential element - the creation of changed or modern attitudes and values.
4. promotes the increased marketisation of secondary and higher education via the imposition of user fees with the aim of controlling government spending on education.
5. concentrates resources on elementary education with the professed aim of increasing access to and quality of the sector.

The findings of this study are that objectives 3, 4 and 5 are mutually incompatible. Changed attitudes do not materialise in elementary education and user fees create a market in all levels of education which restricts both overall access and specifically access to the quality of education needed to achieve the desired attitudinal goals. The study also finds that objective three above is achieved very effectively when students complete secondary education. Completing primary education does not develop these desired attitudes and values, a finding which has serious implications for current international development initiatives in education. Both Education For All and The United Nations Millennium Development Goals call for concentrated effort to ensure universal access to primary education. The findings of this study indicate that achieving this, by itself, would not be sufficient to stimulate development and that these initiatives urgently need to identify a strategy for the education sector as a whole, with the priority of increasing educational quality at all levels as well as increasing participation rates.

The most important finding of all, however, was that linking attitudinal differences to the economic necessities of life, rather than different experiences. Demonstrations of individuality are not possible among poor communities because economic necessity requires continued reliance on families and neighbours. Participation in education does develop individualism and does create potential for its expression. But in the Philippines, poor people simply cannot afford that education. The most significant attitudinal trait associated with modernisation was the recognition of education's ability to transform individuals and society, and this is clearly understood and recognised by all Filipinos. Individuality, perhaps the second most important "modern" trait, however, can only be developed by those able to afford it.

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Attitudes and Values in Education

Dear respondent

I am conducting a survey on the current state of the Philippine education system. I am an independent researcher working towards a PhD degree, jointly supervised by the Open University in the United Kingdom and the University of the Philippines.

I am interested in the effects of education policies followed during the last twenty years or so, especially those recommended by the World Bank and other external agencies during the period of structural adjustment in the Philippine economy. Unlike other researchers, who have examined these policies in terms of student test scores and funding for schools, I wish to examine the effects of the policies on the quality of the education received by students. The attitudes and values which are held by the graduates of the system, I believe, are an important aspect of that quality.

At the beginning of the survey is a section about your own personal and educational background. Then the questionnaire invites you to agree or disagree with a series of statements. These statements describe possible attitudes towards various aspects of Philippine society and education system. Then, you are invited to rate the effectiveness of the education you received in relation to the teaching of certain skills and personal qualities.

All responses will be anonymous. None of the completed questionnaires will be seen by anyone apart from myself. The data will eventually be published, of course, as part of my thesis. This, however, will be in summary form, with all personal data combined into anonymous groups.

Thank you very much indeed for completing this questionnaire. Your responses are crucial to my research and, possibly, to a fuller understanding of the effects of educational reform. If you would like more information about my work, or, indeed, if you would like to offer a more detailed account of your educational experiences, please write to me at the address at the bottom of the page. Besides attitudes and values, I would be grateful to receive your opinions on the state of schools, the relevance of the curriculum, the cost of education, the type of education you have received and how you feel your education might affect your future. Thank you again.

Yours sincerely

Philip Spires
c/o Dr M L C Doronila
Education Research Programme
Rm 208 PCED Bldg
University of the Philippines
Diliman
Quezon City

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The first part of the questionnaire asks you to provide details about yourself, your family, your education and your employment history. Please your answer either by ticking the correct box, or by providing details in the spaces provided.

Section A - Your personal details

A1. What sex are you? Female ☐ Male ☐

A2. What is your age? _____ (years)

A3. Are you married? ☐ Yes ☐ No

A4. How many children do you have? _____

A5. Where were you born? (Please state province, city, barangay, as appropriate) _____

Section B - Your family background

B1. What is your father's occupation? _____

B2. What is your mother's occupation? _____

B3. What is your father's highest educational qualification? _____

B4. What is your mother's highest educational qualification? _____

B5. How many brothers do you have? _____ How many of them are older than you? _____

B6. How many sisters do you have? _____ How many of them are older than you? _____

B7. Where do your parents live now? _____

B8. Do your parents still live in the same province or city as the one where you were born? _____

Section C. Your education history

C1. What was the name and address of the elementary school where you graduated?

_____

C2. In what year did you start your elementary education and in what year did you graduate?

Year started _____ Year completed _____

C3. What sort of elementary school did you attend? Please indicate the type of school - public, Church, Chinese, private etc - and also some of its other features, such as rural/urban, boarding/day school, approximate number of pupils and teachers.

_____

_____

C4. Did you attend more than one elementary school?
If "yes", how many elementary schools did you attend? _____

C5. In what language were the classes conducted in the early years of your elementary schooling?

C6. As far as you can remember, how many pupils were there in your graduating class in elementary school?

C7. How many years did you spend in high school?

C8. As far as you can remember, how many pupils were there in your graduating class in high school?

C9. Please give details of all high schools you have attended. For type, please state whether it was private, public, Catholic, Proetestant, Chinese, etc. If the school was of a type not listed here, please describe it in the "comments" space below.

Year started	Year finished	Name and address of high school	Type (see above)

Comments:

C10. Please give details of all colleges or universities you have attended since leaving high school. Under course, please state as clearly as possible what was your major course of study. If you need to explain further, use the "comments" section below or, if you need more space, the last page of the questionnaire.

Year started	Year finished	Name and address of college or university	Course

Comments:

C11. Do you currently live in your parents' family home? _____

If no, did you move away from home to take up a place in college? _____

How many years have you now lived away from home? _____

Section D - Your employment history

D1. Other than short-term or casual work, have you been in full time employment? _____

If "no", please go to question D3.

If "yes", please give details of the job you held, the type of employer, the type of work done, how long you stayed and how much you were paid.

Job held (title or type)	Name and type of employer (large, small, private, government, family)	Type of work done (brief details of work type and your usual tasks)	Length of stay (years)	Pay (monthly) (Peso)

D2. Did you give up the job to pursue higher education? _____

D3. Are you currently doing part-time work? _____

If "yes", how many hours do you work per week? _____

Please give details below.

Job held (title or type)	Type of employer (large, small, private, government, family)	Type of work done (brief details of work type and your usual tasks)	How long held (years)	Pay (monthly) (Peso)

Section E - Your future plans

E1. If you had an open and free choice, where would you prefer to work when you have finished your education? Please indicate your first choice with 1, second choice with 2 etc. If your personal choice is not listed, please write it in the "Other" box. (ASEAN countries apart from the Philippines are Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand. Non-ASEAN countries include Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong etc)

Philippines	USA	ASEAN	Asia (non-ASEAN)	Europe	Middle East	Other

E2. In which of these regions do you think there is the greater chance of getting the kind of job you want when you have finished your education? Please indicate your first choice with 1, second choice with 2 etc. If your personal choice is not listed, please write it in the "Other" box. (ASEAN countries apart from the Philippines are Brunei, Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand). Non-ASEAN countries include Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong etc)

Philippines	USA	ASEAN	Asia (non-ASEAN)	Europe	Middle East	Other

E3. What kind of job do you hope to get when you finish your education? _____

E4. Many Filipinos go overseas for work. Listed below are several reasons which some people give to explain this. Please check which of these you think are very important, important, or not important reasons for people to going overseas. Put any other reasons you think should be included in the boxes at the end of the list.

	very important	important	not important
earning more money			
gaining status			
getting a job			
Western lifestyle			
desire to travel			
knowing other overseas workers			
wanting to leave the Philippines			
lack of opportunity at home			

E5. Are any members of your close family currently working overseas? _____

If "yes", please fill in the details below.

Relationship to you (for example: sister, uncle etc)	Where working (country)	Type of work or job title (if known)

Section F - Attitudes and Values Survey

Below is a series of statements. Please check one box on the right of the page to indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement. You may also indicate whether your agreement or disagreement is strong. If you neither agree nor disagree, then please check the ***Don't know*** box. If you check the wrong box, then cross out the first one and enter a second one. For example, if you disagree, check the box as shown.

Agree strongly	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Disagree strongly
☐	☐	☐	✓	☐

		Agree strongly	Agree	Don't know	Disagree	Disagree strongly
1.	All teaching in Philippine schools should be in Filipino.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2.	Social and economic status is the main thing which will determine a person's earnings.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3.	Because it helps people understand their place in society, education helps to promote social harmony.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4.	Being able to solve problems for myself is a sign of success and strength.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5.	Possessions are signs of success.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6.	Criticising teachers is disrespectful.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7.	Economic development relies on extensive use of technology.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8.	Educated people are mainly interested in themselves.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9.	Educated people are never happy with what they have.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10.	Educated people worry less about possessions compared to other people.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

11.	Educated people tend to be more contented with their life.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
12.	Education allows a person to get access to highly paid jobs.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
13.	Education builds skills in people which employers value and use.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
14.	Education fragments society by separating people into rich and poor.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
15.	Education helps to promote equality.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
16.	Education in the Philippines concentrates too much on subjects which are not useful for the majority of the population.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
17.	Education in the Philippines is as good now as it has ever been.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
18.	Education in the Philippines relies too much on memory work and rote learning.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
19.	Education increases your chances of getting a highly paid job.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
20.	Education is important in itself and people should be able to study what they want, even if their study does not lead directly to any job.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
21.	Education is just a way of identifying the most employable people.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
22.	Education is the main thing which will determine a person's earnings.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐

23.	Education maintains the status quo.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
24.	Education promotes independent thinking.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
25.	Education promotes understanding of the different groups and classes in society.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
26.	Education teaches you to do as you are told.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
27.	Educational success is determined mainly by a person's social or family background.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
28.	Families should have fewer children.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
29.	Small farmers do not need education.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
30.	It is better to educate a small number of highly trained people than develop literacy in everyone.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
31.	Free trade promotes national development.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
32.	Having an education helps people find work overseas.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
33.	Highly paid jobs always go to members of the elite.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
34.	I alone will decide where to work after my education.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
35.	I want to stay in the Philippines when I have finished my education.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐

36.	I want to work overseas and would not consider working in the Philippines.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
37.	If I have a problem, it is better to share it with other members of my family rather than try to solve it myself.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
38.	It is a good thing to preserve the tradition of large families.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
39.	It is better for married couples to wait before having children.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
40.	It is better to cut government spending in higher education so that everyone can have elementary education.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
41.	It is better to educate a small number of highly trained and expert people than to provide elementary education for everyone.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
42.	Foreign firms are not good for development because they take profits out of the country.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
43.	It is good for society's values and assumptions to be questioned.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
44.	It is important to challenge views if I do not agree with them.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
45.	It will be hard to get a job in the Philippines when my education is finished.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
46.	Lack of unity behind a clear set of values is a sign of weakness in a society.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐

47.	Many teachers in my high school were unqualified.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
48.	Multi-national corporations help national development by investing in the country.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
49.	My aim is to work overseas when I have finished my education.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
50.	My education is most useful in helping me to find a job in the Philippines.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
51.	My higher earnings as a result of education will not make up for what I have paid in school and college fees.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
52.	I, myself, have the most power over my future success.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
53.	National development is helped by imposing taxes on imports.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
54.	National development is helped when more people have access to education.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
55.	Paying for education is a form of investment.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
56.	Poor people can become better off through education.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
57.	Privilege in society is reduced by education.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
58.	Providing good quality elementary education for everybody in the Philippines would be too expensive.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐

59.	Raising children is the purpose of marriage.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
60.	School was generally boring or uninteresting.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
61.	Society is strengthend when there are many different peoples and beliefs.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
62.	Staying in the Philippines is what I want, but I may have to go overseas for work.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
63.	Students should always challenge their teachers when they think they are wrong.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
64.	The country cannot afford to educate so many college graduates because many of them will not find work.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
65.	The Philippines could develop by aiding small farmers.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
66.	The country's future development will depend a lot on the quality of its managers and professionals.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
67.	The highly paid jobs go only to the elite.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
68.	The qualifications needed for jobs nowadays are higher than they used to be.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
69.	The views of my elders should always be respected, even when I do not agree with them.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
70.	There are lots of jobs for educated people in the Philippines.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐

71.	There are more opportunities now for educated people than there were for my parents.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
72.	There are only a limited number of opportunities for people to gain higher status through education.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
73.	There are values in society which should never be questioned.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
74.	There has been a deterioration in the quality of education in the Philippines in my lifetime.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
75.	There is not enough time spent on learning English.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
76.	There is too much progressive or modern education.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
77.	Understanding of Filipino culture is developed by the education system.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
78.	Western values dominate the education system in the Philippines	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
79.	What the country needs most is to develop the literacy and numeracy of the general population.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
80.	When peasants are taught to read and write, they can produce more on their farms.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
81.	My family should have a large say in where you should work.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
82.	My lessons at school were generally interesting and enjoyable.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
83.	My success in the future will be largely a matter of luck.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐
84.	My teachers at school were generally well qualified.	Agree strongly ☐	Agree ☐	Don't know ☐	Disagree ☐	Disagree strongly ☐

Section G - Your educational experience

G1. Here is a list of personal talents, skills and aptitudes. How good are you at each of these? Please indicate by checking the correct column.

	Very good	Good	Average	Weak	Very weak
ability to deal with change					
ability to work in groups					
creativity					
curiosity					
independence					
initiative					
originality					
reasoning					
self-discipline					
self-reliance					
technological awareness					
understanding of others					

G2. Here is the same list of talents, skills and aptitudes. How much do you think these were developed at school? Please check the relevant column.

	a lot	a little	not at all	schools discourage this
ability to deal with change				
ability to work in groups				
creativity				
curiosity				
independence				
initiative				
originality				
reasoning				
self-discipline				
self-reliance				
technological awareness				
understanding of others				

(next page please)

G3. Here is a list of high school subjects. Grade them according to how important you think they are in the school curriculum. Please put a tick in the relevant column.

	Very important	Quite important	Not important	Did not do any!
Art				
Biology				
Chemistry				
Computers				
Economics				
Engineering				
English				
Geography				
History				
Math				
Music				
Physics				
Pilipino				
Social Studies				

G4. Now grade the subjects according to how useful they have been to you, personally.

	Very important	Quite important	Not important	Did not do any!
Art				
Biology				
Chemistry				
Computers				
Economics				
Engineering				
English				
Geography				
History				
Math				
Music				
Physics				
Pilipino				
Social Studies				

G5. Now grade them again according to how important you think they are in preparing you for employment.

	Very important	Quite important	Not important	A hinderance!
Art				
Biology				
Chemistry				
Computers				
Economics				
Engineering				
English				
Geography				
History				
Math				
Music				
Physics				
Pilipino				
Social Studies				

G6. What was your score in the National College Entrance Examination?

G7. Please encircle either TRUE or FALSE to indicate your agreement with each of these statements.

your school teachers were generally keen and committed	TRUE	FALSE
your education has developed pride in your country	TRUE	FALSE
your education has developed your love of God	TRUE	FALSE
you used to take part regularly in extra-curricular activities (such as sports, social clubs, etc)	TRUE	FALSE
your school buildings were generally well mainained	TRUE	FALSE
you were always provided with textbooks at school	TRUE	FALSE

(next page please)

Section H - Your comments

Thank you very much indeed for any information which you have given in this questionnaire. Your participation and cooperation is greatly appreciated. If there is anything else which you would like to say, please use the space below. I would be grateful for any further comment, either in the areas which the questionnaire covered or in other areas which it did not. Furthermore, if you have any comments about the relevance or otherwise of the questions asked or the information requested in the questionnaire, I would be grateful for those also.

Comments:

Appendix 2 - Section F results

The overall score for all questions and all responses was 2.65. Since questions were conceived in pairs having opposite sense, as explained on page 140, the mean (average) should have been 3. There was therefore a slight tendency towards agreement. Some questions, however, were not exact opposites and it was quite feasible that some respondents agreed with both aspects of the same question.

Individual student average scores range from 3.60 to 1.71, with a standard deviation of 1.17. This means that the overall average is about 0.29 standard deviations from the expected figure.

Zero responses amount to 1.08% of all responses. These were dealt with as explained on pages 155-156

Positive negative score reflects general agreement or disagreement with the question. Scores of 1 and 2 were re-written as +1 representing agreement, while 4 and 5 became -1, representing disagreement. Scores of 3 became 0, or neutral. A high positive score (close to 1) signifies general agreement, a high negative score (close to -1) shows disagreement.

Questions are also classified as Agree, Disagree or Split questions. Agree questions have the total number of agree responses greater than 50% and at least twice as big as the number of disagree responses. Disagree questions work exactly the opposite way round. Split questions are the rest. Overall, there were 43 Agree questions, 12 Disagree and 29 Split.

The responses to individual questions follow. In each case, the raw responses are given, along with an average and total agreement and disagreement with percentages. The response code is:

Code	Meaning
0	No response
1	Strongly agree
2	Agree
3	Don't know
4	Disagree
5	Strongly disagree

An average score of 3 indicates a neutral question. Averages less than 3 indicate strength of agreement and greater than 3 indicate strength of disagreement. Each question is classified as an 'Agree" or "Disagree' question according to the convention described earlier. A standard deviation is given and a positive/negative score. This latter quantity is derived by converting all agreement to a score of 1 and all disagreement to a -1. A score of 0, therefore indicates neutrality, whilst 1 indicates that everyone agreed and -1 that everyone disagreed. Obviously this does not indicate strength of feeling in any way. Finally, each question indicates an average raw score for each of the seven colleges[1] and a comment on any observed pattern.

[1] College type is categorised as follows: 1 elite schools (DLS, UPH); 2 mid-level schools (ADM, TIP, PUP); 3 mass colleges (FEU, UOE)

1. All teaching in Philippine schools should be in Filipino.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	1	20	61	21	296	80
Percentage	0.21	4.18	12.73	4.38	61.80	16.70

Average 3.74
Agree 81 (16.91%)
Disagree 376 (78.50%)
Disagree question
Standard deviation: 1.03
Positive/negative score: -0.64

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.84	4.13	3.53	3.82	3.81	3.60	3.81

Comment: Respondents are strongly opposed to the use of the Filipino language instead of English.

2. Social and economic status is the main thing which will determine a person's earnings.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	2	83	256	41	82	15
Percentage	0.42	17.33	53.44	8.56	17.12	3.13

Average 2.35
Agree 339 (70.77%)
Disagree 97 (20.25%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 1.06
Positive/negative score: 0.56

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.38	3.50	2.17	2.42	2.34	2.12	2.85

Comment: There is strong agreement with this question. There is a tendency in the elite schools to disagree, or to agree less strongly than the non-elite schools.

3. Because it helps people understand their place in society, education helps to promote social harmony.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	2	189	244	28	12	4
Percentage	0.42	39.46	50.94	5.85	2.51	0.84

Average 1.74
Agree 433 (90.43%)
Disagree 16 (3.34%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.76
Positive/negative score: 0.93

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.75	2.00	1.74	1.62	1.71	1.71	2.15

Comment: Overwhelming yes, but the elite schools are not as convinced on this point as the others, being half a standard deviation further to the negative, but still in agreement.

4. Being able to solve problems for myself is a sign of success and strength.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	1	269	183	7	14	5

Percentage		0.21	56.16	38.20	1.46	2.92	1.04

Average 1.54
Agree 452 (94.36%)
Disagree 19 (3.97%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.76
Positive/negative score: 0.92

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.47	1.63	1.55	1.59	1.55	1.39	2.04

Comment: Overwhelming yes, indicating a strong sense of individuality.

5. Possessions are signs of success.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	2	53	208	69	122	25
Percentage	0.42	11.06	43.42	14.41	25.47	5.22

Average 2.70
Agree 261 (70.77%)
Disagree 147 (20.25%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.13
Positive/negative score: 0.28

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.62	3.13	2.42	2.82	2.69	2.57	3.48

Comment: There is a large degree of agreement, but the result is still inconclusive. Note the greater tendency amongst elite schools to reject or be seen to reject materialism.

6. Criticising teachers is disrespectful.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	42	88	72	235	37
Percentage	1.04	8.77	18.37	15.03	49.06	7.72

Average 3.29
Agree 130 (27.14%)
Disagree 272 (56.78%)
Disagree question
Standard deviation: 1.17
Positive/negative score: 0.34

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.20	3.50	2.86	3.53	2.98	3.23	4.00

Comment: Generally respondents do not think it is disrespectful to criticise teachers. UP Political Science students in particular and elite schools overall are very strong on the point. There is a sizeable minority agreeing, however. Needs further analysis.

7. Economic development relies on extensive use of technology.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	3	72	284	47	70	3
Percentage	0.63	15.03	59.29	9.81	14.61	0.63

Average 2.26
Agree 356 (74.32%)
Disagree 73 (15.24%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.92
Positive/negative score: 0.66

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.18	2.13	2.04	2.40	2.05	2.30	2.67

Comment: Large degree of agreement on the assertion that development requires technological change.

8. Educated people are mainly interested in themselves.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	1	37	103	67	226	45
Percentage	0.21	7.72	21.50	13.99	47.18	9.39

Average 3.29
Agree 140 (29.23%)
Disagree 271 (56.58%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.15
Positive/negative score: -0.32

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.22	3.88	3.05	3.63	3.22	3.03	3.59

Comment: A majority disagrees, but the result is not clear-cut.

9. Educated people are never happy with what they have.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	1	20	71	88	235	64
Percentage	0.21	4.18	14.82	18.37	49.06	13.36

Average 3.53
Agree 91 (19.00%)
Disagree 299 (62.42%)
Disagree question
Standard deviation: 1.04
Positive/negative score: -0.53

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.63	3.13	3.56	3.55	3.57	3.38	3.44

Comment: General disagreement on this question.

10. Educated people worry less about possessions compared to other people.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	2	29	177	119	141	11
Percentage	0.42	6.05	36.95	24.84	29.44	2.30

Average 2.85
Agree 206 (43.01%)
Disagree 152 (31.73%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.01
Positive/negative score: 0.16

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.86	3.75	2.73	2.86	2.71	2.70	3.48

Comment: Very evenly divided on this point. Again elite schools tend to take a different line from the others.

11. Educated people tend to be more contented with their life.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	1	47	204	47	170	10
Percentage	0.21	9.81	42.59	9.81	35.49	2.09

Average 2.77
Agree 251 (52.40%)
Disagree 180 (37.58%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.11
Positive/negative score: 0.17

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.84	3.38	2.52	2.83	2.60	2.84	2.85

Comment: Further analysis needed. Evenly spread.

12. Education allows a person to get access to highly paid jobs.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	0	209	227	9	31	3
Percentage	0.00	43.63	47.39	1.88	6.47	0.63

Average 1.73
Agree 436 (91.02%)
Disagree 34 (7.10%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.84
Positive/negative score: 0.86

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.46	1.50	1.77	1.66	1.64	1.90	2.48

Comment: Very high level of agreement is evidence for the respondents' almost unquestioning faith in the ability of education to deliver success, employment, good standard of living etc.

13. Education builds skills in people which employers value and use.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	1	194	262	15	6	1
Percentage	0.21	40.50	54.70	3.13	1.25	0.21

Average 1.66
Agree 456 (95.20%)
Disagree 7 (1.46%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.63
Positive/negative score: 0.97

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.63	1.88	1.57	1.61	1.64	1.71	1.89

Comment: And near 100% agreement on the fact that it is the content of the educational process which is useful, not just the certification process. Again note the elite schools are more sceptical.

14. Education fragments society by separating people into rich and poor.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	2	19	81	65	239	73
Percentage	0.42	3.97	16.91	13.57	49.90	15.24

Average 3.56
Agree 100 (20.88%)
Disagree 312 (65.14%)
Disagree question
Standard deviation: 1.09
Positive/negative score: -0.51

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.63	3.13	3.77	3.32	3.74	3.57	3.11

Comment: A high degree of disagreement. Education is not seen as a divisive force, despite the fact that it gives access to highly paid jobs. Elite schools again form a slightly different group.

15. Education helps to promote equality.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	1	129	237	48	57	7
Percentage	0.21	26.93	49.48	10.02	11.90	1.46

Average 2.11
Agree 366 (74.41%)
Disagree 64 (13.36%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.99
Positive/negative score: 0.70

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.98	2.38	1.92	2.28	1.98	2.09	2.63

Comment: Education does promote equality. UP political scientists perhaps have an academic problem with the question!

16. Education in the Philippines concentrates too much on subjects which are not useful for the majority of the population.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	0	59	170	72	148	30
Percentage	0.00	12.32	35.49	15.03	30.90	6.26

Average 2.83
Agree 229 (47.81%)
Disagree 178 (37.16%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.18
Positive/negative score: 0.13

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.84	3.13	2.71	2.66	3.50	2.79	2.52

Comment: There is a split on curriculum. This needs more analysis. The higher score in PUP may correlate with expressions of dissatisfaction with the courses being studied by the respondents.

17. Education in the Philippines is as good now as it has ever been.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	0	63	223	76	101	16
Percentage	0.00	13.15	46.56	15.87	21.09	3.34

Average 2.55
Agree 286 (59.71%)
Disagree 117 (24.43%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 1.07
Positive/negative score: 0.42

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.39	2.63	2.13	2.83	2.19	2.65	3.48

Comment: General agreement, but a significant number disagree. UP political scientists again show their independence.

18. Education in the Philippines relies too much on memory work and rote learning.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	1	42	211	79	132	14
Percentage	0.21	8.77	44.05	16.49	27.56	2.92

Average 2.72
Agree 253 (52.82%)
Disagree 146 (30.48%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.06
Positive/negative score: 0.27

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.86	2.88	2.84	2.42	2.88	2.72	2.63

Comment: Alongside 16 above, there is more agreement that the curriculum needs some attention.

19. Education increases your chances of getting a highly paid job.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	0	216	220	20	20	3
Percentage	0.00	45.09	45.93	4.18	4.18	0.63

Average 1.69
Agree 436 (91.02%)
Disagree 23 (4.80%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.79
Positive/negative score: 0.90

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.44	1.63	1.83	1.68	1.59	1.85	1.89

Comment: Almost total agreement correlates with 12 above. Unquestioning confidence in the efficacy of the process.

20. Education is important in itself and people should be able to study what they want, even if their study does not lead directly to any job.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	2	94	235	37	108	3
Percentage	0.42	19.62	49.06	7.72	22.55	0.63

Average 2.35
Agree 329 (68.68%)

Disagree 111 (23.17%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 1.06
Positive/negative score: 0.50

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.38	1.38	2.26	2.58	2.40	2.32	1.70

Comment: The process itself is worthwhile. Very liberal stance.

21. Education is just a way of identifying the most employable people.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	1	39	159	58	193	29
Percentage	0.21	8.14	33.19	12.11	40.29	6.05

Average 3.03
Agree 198 (41.34%)
Disagree 222 (46.35%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.15
Positive/negative score: -0.05

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.24	3.25	2.68	3.07	2.88	2.99	3.44

Comment: A split response. Needs more work. Suggests that the less elite schools are conscious of education as a selection process than the others.

22. Education is the main thing which will determine a person's earnings.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	1	58	174	42	190	14
Percentage	0.21	12.11	36.33	8.77	39.67	2.92

Average 2.85
Agree 232 (48.43%)
Disagree 204 (42.59%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.17
Positive/negative score: 0.07

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.08	2.38	2.44	2.93	2.60	2.88	3.33

Comment: Complex response. Opposed positions of elite schools is interesting point.

23. Education maintains the status quo.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	9	35	255	125	54	1
Percentage	1.88	7.31	53.24	26.10	11.27	0.21

Average 2.43
Agree 290 (60.54%)
Disagree 55 (11.48%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.86
Positive/negative score: 0.69

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.56	2.63	2.31	2.36	2.33	2.28	2.52

Comment: An agree question. Large score for don't know might be a result of using the term status quo. The lower status colleges' score seem to agree more than the rest.

24. Education promotes independent thinking.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	4	132	285	20	34	4
Percentage	0.84	27.56	59.50	4.18	7.10	0.84

Average 1.93
Agree 417 (87.06%)
Disagree 38 (7.93%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.84
Positive/negative score: 0.83

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.97	1.75	1.75	1.94	1.90	1.94	2.11

Comment: Strong agreement.

25. Education promotes understanding of the different groups and classes in society.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	3	158	288	12	16	2
Percentage	0.63	32.99	60.13	2.51	3.34	0.42

Average 1.77
Agree 446 (93.11%)
Disagree 18 (3.76%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.70
Positive/negative score: 0.92

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.80	1.75	1.61	1.74	1.69	1.82	2.11

Comment: Very strong agreement.

26. Education teaches you to do as you are told.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	4	50	191	48	170	16
Percentage	0.84	10.44	39.87	10.02	35.48	3.34

Average 2.81
Agree 241 (50.31%)
Disagree 186 (38.83%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.16
Positive/negative score: 0.14

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.68	3.50	2.55	3.02	2.50	2.74	3.48

Comment: Split response. Two elite schools disagree here. Generally greater agreement from lower status colleges.

27. Educational success is determined mainly by a person's social or family background.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	3	29	142	37	242	26
Percentage	0.63	6.05	29.65	7.72	50.52	5.43

Average 3.20
Agree 171 (35.70%)
Disagree 268 (55.95%)
Split question

Standard deviation: 1.14
Positive/negative score: -0.21

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.34	3.00	2.81	3.38	3.26	2.93	3.59

Comment: More work needed on analysis. Interesting that the lower status mass education private colleges appear to agree more strongly than the rest.

28. Families should have fewer children.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	4	116	241	54	58	6
Percentage	0.84	24.22	50.31	11.27	12.11	1.25

Average 2.15
Agree 357 (74.53%)
Disagree 64 (13.36%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.98
Positive/negative score: 0.70

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.25	2.25	2.22	2.08	2.05	2.03	2.26

Comment: General strong agreement.

29. Small farmers do not need education.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	3	3	5	7	207	254
Percentage	0.63	0.63	1.04	1.46	43.22	53.03

Average 4.48
Agree 8 (1.67%)
Disagree 461 (96.24%)
Disagree question
Standard deviation: 0.74
Positive/negative score: -0.95

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
4.54	4.50	4.45	4.37	4.48	4.39	4.63

Comment: Very strong disagreement.

30. It is better to educate a small number of highly trained and expert people than develop literacy in everyone.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	3	27	87	57	200	105
Percentage	0.63	5.64	18.16	11.90	41.75	21.92

Average 3.57
Agree 114 (23.80%)
Disagree 305 (62.67%)
Disagree question
Standard deviation: 1.21
Positive/negative score: -0.45

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.44	4.00	3.26	3.76	3.48	3.39	4.37

Comment: General disagreement indicates overall belief in education. Elite colleges appear to disagree more strongly than the rest.

31. Free trade promotes national development.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	37	239	129	60	9
Percentage	1.04	7.72	49.90	26.93	12.53	1.88

Average 2.50
Agree 276 (57.62%)
Disagree 69 (14.41%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.91
Positive/negative score: 0.61

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.45	2.63	2.31	2.67	2.26	2.49	2.63

Comment: General agreement on this question. Philippine left would certainly oppose this position, at least from a nationalist perspective. A large number of 'don't know' responses might indicate either non-understanding of the question or lack of general political consciousness among the students.

32. Having an education helps people find work overseas.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	33	263	35	117	26
Percentage	1.04	6.89	54.91	7.31	24.43	5.43

Average 2.66
Agree 296 (61.80%)
Disagree 143 (29.85%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 1.12
Positive/negative score: 0.36

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.39	2.63	2.56	2.78	2.55	2.87	2.37

Comment: Fairly strong agreement on this. It also has to be remembered that the students believe that education helps in the finding of any job.

33. Highly paid jobs always go to members of the elite.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	6	64	143	89	146	31
Percentage	1.25	13.36	29.85	18.58	30.48	6.47

Average 2.87
Agree 207 (43.22%)
Disagree 177 (36.95%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.22
Positive/negative score: 0.09

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.97	2.75	2.66	2.82	2.88	2.89	2.59

Comment: A very even split on this question, with no obvious pattern across the colleges. More work on analysis needed.

34. I alone will decide where to work after my education.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	169	216	28	58	3
Percentage	1.04	35.28	45.09	5.85	12.11	0.63

Average 1.97
Agree 385 (80.38%)

Disagree 61 (12.73%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 1.00
Positive/negative score: 0.73

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.90	2.63	1.82	1.86	2.00	1.91	2.63

Comment: Very strong agreement indicates that the students have a very highly developed sense of individuality. This strongly contradicts the analysis that secular and sacral values coexist equally in the national character. The students respond clearly that they themselves, and not their families or kinship ties, will determine their future careers. Also interesting that the elite schools agree less strongly than the less elite schools.

35. I want to stay in the Philippines when I have finished my education.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	139	166	124	37	8
Percentage	1.04	29.02	34.66	25.89	7.72	1.67

Average 2.18
Agree 305 (63.67%)
Disagree 45 (9.39%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 1.01
Positive/negative score: 0.75

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.25	2.13	2.38	2.09	2.19	2.00	1.96

Comment: Quite clear agreement on the issue. The majority of students want to stay at home. A significant number, however, 26%, answered 'don't know'. Needs some analysis.

36. I want to work overseas and would not consider working in the Philippines.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	3	11	26	108	225	106
Percentage	0.63	2.30	5.43	22.55	46.97	22.13

Average 3.82
Agree 37 (7.72%)
Disagree 331 (69.10%)
Disagree question
Standard deviation: 0.96
Positive/negative score: -0.75

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.77	3.75	3.57	3.90	3.79	3.73	4.26

Comment: Mirrors the question above with a similar number of 'don't knows'.

37. If I have a problem, it is better to share it with other members of my family rather than try to solve it myself.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	3	128	223	34	78	13
Percentage	0.63	26.72	46.56	7.10	16.28	2.71

Average 2.21
Agree 351 (73.28%)
Disagree 91 (19.00%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 1.11
Positive/negative score: 0.59

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.95	2.50	2.35	2.27	2.09	2.19	2.52

Comment: General agreement. Strength of family ties shows up here.

38. It is a good thing to preserve the tradition of large families.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	4	53	126	68	189	39
Percentage	0.84	11.06	26.30	14.20	39.46	8.14

Average 3.07
Agree 179 (37.37%)
Disagree 228 (47.60%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.23
Positive/negative score: -0.11

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.90	2.75	2.75	3.40	3.10	3.04	2.89

Significant but not overall disagreement. Needs analysis.

39. It is better for married couples to wait before having children.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	120	251	59	38	6
Percentage	1.04	25.05	52.40	12.32	7.93	1.25

Average 12.07
Agree 371 (77.45%)
Disagree 44 (9.19%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.92
Positive/negative score: 0.79

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.20	1.88	1.94	2.03	1.91	2.05	2.26

Comment: General agreement.

40. It is better to cut costs in higher education so that everyone can have elementary education.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	3	45	108	95	174	54
Percentage	0.63	9.39	22.55	19.83	36.33	11.27

Average 3.18
Agree 153 (31.94%)
Disagree 228 (47.60%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.20
Positive/negative score: -0.19

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.40	2.38	2.74	3.40	3.33	2.89	3.33

Comment: Needs analysis. No clear pattern.

41. It is better to educate a small number of highly trained and expert people than to provide elementary education for everyone.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	3	13	49	48	252	114

Percentage		0.63	2.71	10.23	10.02	52.61	23.80

Average 3.85
Agree 62 (12.94%)
Disagree 366 (76.41%)
Disagree question
Standard deviation: 1.03
Positive/negative score: -0.70

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.94	3.38	3.64	3.96	3.74	3.71	4.19

Comment: Confirms overall belief in the needs for widest access to education.

42. Foreign firms hinder development because they take profits out of the country.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	44	136	111	170	13
Percentage	1.04	9.19	28.39	23.17	35.49	2.71

Average 2.94
Agree 180 (37.58%)
Disagree 183 (38.20%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.10
Positive/negative score: 0.01

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.12	2.75	2.97	2.70	3.31	2.68	2.93

Comment: Standard Philippine left position produces a split response. Again a large number of 'don't knows' might indicate general lack of awareness of wider issues.

43. It is good for society's values and assumptions to be questioned.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	6	41	281	105	43	3
Percentage	1.25	8.56	58.66	21.92	9.98	0.63

Average 2.34
Agree 322 (67.22%)
Disagree 46 (9.60%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.82
Positive/negative score: 0.75

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.44	1.63	2.36	2.23	2.41	2.29	2.04

Comment: Generally stronger agreement among elite schools. Overall agreement.

44. It is important to challenge views if I do not agree with them.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	73	311	58	30	2
Percentage	1.04	15.24	64.93	12.11	6.26	0.42

Average 2.11
Agree 384 (80.17%)
Disagree 32 (6.68%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.77
Positive/negative score: 0.85

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.18	1.63	2.09	2.13	2.19	1.99	1.81

Comment: General agreement - especially from the elite schools.

45. It will be hard to get a job in the Philippines when my education is finished.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	41	139	96	172	26
Percentage	1.04	8.56	29.02	20.04	35.91	5.43

Average 3.01
Agree 180 (37.58%)
Disagree 198 (41.34%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.14
Positive/negative score: -0.03

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.14	3.25	2.83	2.99	3.22	2.90	2.41

Comment: Split response. High number of 'don't knows' might indicate a general confusion over career matters amongst the students. Needs analysis.

46. Lack of unity behind a clear set of values is a sign of weakness in a society.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	6	165	245	31	27	5
Percentage	1.25	34.45	51.15	6.47	5.64	1.04

Average 1.86
Agree 410 (85.59%)
Disagree 32 (6.68%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.87
Positive/negative score: 0.86

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.85	1.75	1.87	1.71	1.74	1.94	2.11

Comment: Very strong agreement. Highly normative.

47. Many teachers in my high school were unqualified.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	8	16	86	60	264	45
Percentage	1.67	3.34	17.95	12.53	55.11	9.39

Average 3.50
Agree 102 (21.29%)
Disagree 309 (64.51%)
Disagree question
Standard deviation: 1.09
Positive/negative score: -0.47

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.51	3.88	3.27	3.57	3.79	3.31	2.81

Comment: Strong disagreement.

48. Multi-national corporations help national development by investing in the country.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	11	47	287	78	47	9
Percentage	2.30	9.81	59.92	16.28	9.81	1.88

Average 2.32
Agree 334 (69.73%)
Disagree 56 (11.69%)

Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.92
Positive/negative score: 0.72

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.17	2.88	1.91	2.69	1.95	2.24	2.52

Comment: Generally strong agreement. Counters the left position, showing that the students are generally not politically active on the left or nationalist positions.

49. My aim is to work overseas when I have finished my education.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	8	20	76	113	201	61
Percentage	1.67	4.18	15.87	23.59	41.96	12.73

Average 3.44
Agree 96 (20.04%)
Disagree 262 (54.70%)
Disagree question
Standard deviation: 1.12
Positive/negative score: -0.43

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.24	3.75	3.12	3.53	3.33	3.38	4.04

Comment: Generally a disagree question, but needs a lot of analysis. Again a large number of 'don't knows' would suggest that there is confusion over career issues. But 20% say they do want to work overseas.

50. My education is most useful in helping me to find a job in the Philippines.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	8	164	244	43	16	4
Percentage	1.67	34.24	50.94	8.98	3.34	0.84

Average 1.84
Agree 408 (85.18%)
Disagree 20 (4.18%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.82
Positive/negative score: 0.91

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.85	2.00	1.71	1.83	1.74	1.74	2.15

Comment: Strong agreement. Education is seen as essential for finding any job.

51. My increased earnings as a result of education will not make up for what I have paid in school and college fees.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	10	26	102	100	208	33
Percentage	2.09	5.43	21.29	20.88	43.42	6.89

Average 3.26
Agree 128 (26.72%)
Disagree 241 (50.31%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.14
Positive/negative score: -0.27

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.35	3.25	2.86	3.46	3.29	2.86	3.37

Comment: Large number of 'don't knows' as usual for a career-based question. Still general belief in the idea that education will open up opportunity for higher earnings.

52. I, myself, have the most power over my future success.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	8	215	196	35	19	6
Percentage	1.67	44.89	40.92	7.31	3.97	1.25

Average 1.74
Agree 411 (85.80%)
Disagree 25 (5.22%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.88
Positive/negative score: 0.89

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.82	1.38	1.48	1.83	1.67	1.65	1.85

Comment: Very strong agreement confirms findings elsewhere in the survey that it is through individual effort that people pass or fail, succeed or not.

53. National development is helped by imposing tariffs on imports.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	12	41	242	121	56	7
Percentage	2.51	8.56	50.52	25.26	11.69	1.46

Average 2.46
Agree 283 (59.08%)
Disagree 63 (13.15%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.94
Positive/negative score: 0.65

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.39	2.25	2.30	2.47	2.53	2.27	2.59

Comment: Large number of 'don't knows' suggests a lack of general knowledge or inability to understand the question. A hint of a nationalist perspective.

54. National development is helped when more people have access to education.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	11	134	270	46	15	3
Percentage	2.30	27.97	56.37	9.60	3.13	0.63

Average 1.90
Agree 404 (84.34%)
Disagree 18 (3.76%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.79
Positive/negative score: 0.92

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.82	2.00	2.03	1.92	1.74	1.78	1.63

Comment: Total belief in the efficacy of education.

55. Paying for education is a form of investment.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	8	103	248	67	47	6
Percentage	1.67	21.50	51.77	13.99	9.81	1.25

Average 2.16

Agree 351 (73.28%)
Disagree 53 (11.06%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.96
Positive/negative score: 0.74

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.30	1.50	2.04	2.18	2.26	2.05	1.70

Comment: As above in the previous question.

56. Poor people can become better off through education.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	8	140	237	38	46	10
Percentage	1.67	29.33	49.48	7.93	9.60	2.09

Average 2.04
Agree 377 (78.71%)
Disagree 56 (11.69%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 1.01
Positive/negative score: 0.75

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.04	1.88	2.17	1.98	2.07	1.86	2.00

Comment: Complete agreement.

57. Privilege in society is reduced by education.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	10	20	114	123	180	32
Percentage	2.09	4.18	23.80	25.68	37.58	6.68

Average 3.19
Agree 134 (27.97%)
Disagree 212 (44.26%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.11
Positive/negative score: -0.19

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.42	3.25	2.78	3.19	3.19	2.99	3.15

Comment: Tendency to disagree would suggest that the question was understood correctly. No clear pattern. Analysis needed.

58. Providing good quality elementary education for everybody in the Philippines would be too expensive.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	10	24	92	66	237	50
Percentage	2.09	5.01	19.21	13.78	49.48	10.44

Average 3.42
Agree 116 (24.22%)
Disagree 287 (59.92%)
Disagree question
Standard deviation: 1.17
Positive/negative score: -0.39

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.46	2.50	3.27	3.50	3.47	3.23	3.00

Comment: General belief in the efficacy and essential nature of education confirmed again.

59. Raising children is the purpose of marriage.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	6	25	149	70	172	57
Percentage	1.25	5.22	31.11	14.61	35.91	11.90

Average 3.18
Agree 174 (36.33%)
Disagree 229 (47.81%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.20
Positive/negative score: -0.12

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.87	3.75	3.08	3.35	3.31	3.03	3.30

Comment: Strong evidence of 'modern' values and individualism. Though the response is split, the number of disagree responses in what is usually assumed to be a pious Catholic country is significant.

60. School was generally boring or uninteresting.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	6	10	21	25	253	164
Percentage	1.25	2.09	4.38	5.22	52.82	34.24

Average 4.14
Agree 31 (6.47%)
Disagree 417 (87.06%)
Disagree question
Standard deviation: 0.98
Positive/negative score: -0.84

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
4.22	4.25	4.00	4.17	4.28	3.85	4.00

Comment: Not only is the efficacy of education thoroughly believed, but the process itself seems to receive the near unanimous endorsement of the students.

61. Society is strengthened when there are many different peoples and beliefs.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	6	16	146	98	174	39
Percentage	1.25	3.34	30.48	20.46	36.33	8.14

Average 3.16
Agree 162 (33.82%)
Disagree 213 (44.47%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.11
Positive/negative score: -0.12

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.16	2.88	3.00	3.34	3.12	2.99	2.89

Comment: A split question, but there is a strong tendency for respondents to shun pluralism.

62. Staying in the Philippines is what I want, but I may have to go overseas for work.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	66	239	69	77	23
Percentage	1.04	13.78	49.90	14.41	16.08	4.80

Average 2.48

Agree 305 (63.67%)
Disagree 100 (20.88%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 1.09
Positive/negative score: 0.51

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.30	2.25	2.22	2.43	2.69	2.60	2.70

Comment: Already there is a strong awareness of the possibility of migration.

63. Students should always challenge their teachers when they think they are wrong.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	111	273	30	58	2
Percentage	1.04	23.17	56.99	6.26	12.11	0.42

Average 2.09
Agree 384 (80.17%)
Disagree 60 (12.53%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.93
Positive/negative score: 0.73

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.95	1.75	2.01	2.13	2.09	2.18	1.96

Comment: No blind obedience.

64. The country cannot afford to educate so many college graduates because many of them will not find work.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	7	53	167	73	151	28
Percentage	1.46	11.06	34.86	15.24	31.52	5.85

Average 2.86
Agree 220 (45.93%)
Disagree 179 (37.37%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.20
Positive/negative score: 0.12

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.01	3.00	2.35	3.03	2.74	2.67	3.26

Comment: Split question. Positive responses may indicate an awareness of graduate unemployment.

65. The country could develop aiding small farmers.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	113	273	56	28	4
Percentage	1.04	23.59	56.99	11.69	5.85	0.84

Average 2.02
Agree 386 (80.58%)
Disagree 32 (6.68%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.84
Positive/negative score: 0.85

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
1.99	2.13	1.94	1.97	2.21	2.02	1.81

Comment: Very strong agreement - strongest in elite schools.

66. The country's future development will depend a lot on the quality of its managers and professionals.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	74	218	72	94	16
Percentage	1.04	15.45	45.51	15.03	19.62	3.34

Average 2.49
Agree 292 (60.96%)
Disagree 110 (22.96%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 1.10
Positive/negative score: 0.46

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.43	2.38	2.26	2.64	2.40	2.58	2.19

Comment: Agree question. Efficacy of education, but also recognition of a certain kind of development.

67. The highly paid jobs go only to the elite.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	6	45	122	70	194	42
Percentage	1.24	9.39	25.47	14.61	40.50	8.77

Average 3.14
Agree 167 (34.86%)
Disagree 236 (49.27%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.22
Positive/negative score: -0.15

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.37	2.63	2.83	3.20	3.29	3.01	2.59

Comment: General agreement amongst the elite. Otherwise people are not sure.

68. The qualifications needed for jobs nowadays are higher than they used to be.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	6	101	294	56	21	1
Percentage	1.25	21.09	61.38	11.69	4.38	0.21

Average 2.00
Agree 395 (82.46%)
Disagree 22 (4.59%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.76
Positive/negative score: 0.90

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.08	1.88	2.04	1.85	1.98	2.00	1.89

Comment: General awareness of grade inflation.

69. The views of my elders should always be respected, even when I do not agree with them.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	6	49	209	39	150	26
Percentage	1.25	10.23	43.63	8.14	31.32	5.43

Average 2.78
Agree 258 (54.54%)

Disagree 176 (37.20%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.19
Positive/negative score: 0.20

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.94	2.75	2.60	2.83	2.50	2.78	2.48

Comment: Evidence of the sacral here. But a large number of students do not agree.

70. There are lots of jobs for educated people in the Philippines.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	5	41	167	58	169	39
Percentage	1.04	8.56	34.86	12.11	35.28	8.14

Average 3.00
Agree 208 (43.42%)
Disagree 208 (43.42%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.21
Positive/negative score: 0.01

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.83	2.63	2.91	2.96	2.90	2.98	3.81

Comment: UP response may have something to do with the fact that they are political scientists.
Completely even split. Low number of 'don't knows'.

71. There are more opportunities now for educated people than there were for your parents.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	7	47	226	72	117	10
Percentage	1.46	9.81	47.18	15.03	24.43	2.09

Average 2.61
Agree 273 (56.99%)
Disagree 127 (26.51%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 1.07
Positive/negative score: 0.38

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.45	3.38	2.34	2.71	2.36	2.56	3.33

Comment: General agreement, but not in elite schools.

72. There are only a limited number of opportunities for people to gain higher status through education.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	8	31	187	70	170	13
Percentage	1.67	6.47	39.04	14.61	35.49	2.71

Average 2.89
Agree 218 (45.51%)
Disagree 183 (38.207%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.11
Positive/negative score: 0.11

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.96	3.13	2.65	3.06	2.91	2.59	2.70

Comment: Complete split.

73. There are values in society which should never be questioned.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	8	26	195	92	145	13
Percentage	1.67	5.43	40.71	19.21	30.27	2.71

Average 2.84
Agree 221 (46.14%)
Disagree 158 (32.99%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.07
Positive/negative score: 0.18

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.86	3.25	2.65	2.93	2.71	2.64	2.96

Comment: Yes there are, but less so for the elite places.

74. There has been a deterioration in education in the Philippines in my lifetime.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	9	31	207	156	68	8
Percentage	1.88	6,47	43.22	32.57	14.20	1.67

Average 2.61
Agree 238 (49.69%)
Disagree 76 (15.87%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 0.94
Positive/negative score: 0.53

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.62	3.00	2.51	2.56	2.84	2.43	2.22

Comment: General agreement, but a lot of 'don't knows' Again evidence of lack of general knowledge or politicisation.

75. There is not enough time spent on learning English.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	8	30	173	45	193	30
Percentage	1.67	6.26	36.12	9.39	40.29	6.26

Average 3.04
Agree 203 (42.38%)
Disagree 223 (46.56%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.19
Positive/negative score: -0.03

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.04	3.75	3.03	2.97	3.03	2.85	3.04

Comment: Split.

76. There is too much progressive or modern education.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	10	39	224	83	111	12
Percentage	2.09	8.14	46.76	17.33	23.17	2.51

Average 2.64
Agree 263 (54.91%)
Disagree 123 (25.68%)

Agree question
Standard deviation: 1.07
Positive/negative score: 0.38

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.70	2.88	2.30	2.70	2.17	2.53	3.59

Comment: General agreement, but a fair split.

77. Understanding of Filipino culture is developed by the education system.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	7	71	327	31	41	2
Percentage	1.46	14.82	68.27	6.47	8.56	0.42

Average 2.10
Agree 398 (83.09%)
Disagree 43 (8.98%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.80
Positive/negative score: 0.81

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.03	2.25	2.04	2.12	1.95	2.04	2.41

Comment: One of the systems prime aims seems to happen.

78. Western values dominate education system in the Philippines.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	8	37	243	107	81	3
Percentage	1.67	7.72	50.73	22.34	16.91	0.63

Average 2.51
Agree 280 (58.46%)
Disagree 84 (17.54%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.94
Positive/negative score: 0.55

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.73	2.38	2.40	2.41	2.55	2.36	2.30

Comment: But it is a Western system.

79. What the country needs most is to develop the literacy and numeracy of the general population.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	10	112	248	73	30	6
Percentage	2.09	23.38	51.77	15.24	6.26	1.25

Average 2.08
Agree 360 (75.16%)
Disagree 36 (7.52%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.91
Positive/negative score: 0.82

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.10	2.25	2.10	1.92	2.00	2.16	1.74

Comment: Total belief in education.

80. When peasants are taught to read and write, they can produce more on their farms.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	9	73	246	93	52	6
Percentage	1.88	15.24	51.36	19.42	10.86	1.25

Average 2.30
Agree 319 (66.60%)
Disagree 58 (12.11%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.95
Positive/negative score: 0.70

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.32	2.25	2.18	2.42	2.09	2.15	2.37

Comment: As above. Most strongly felt in low status colleges.

81. My family should have a large say in where you should work.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	8	15	131	87	218	20
Percentage	1.67	3.13	27.35	18.16	45.51	4.18

Average 3.21
Agree 146 (30.48%)
Disagree 238 (49.69%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.07
Positive/negative score: -0.21

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
3.23	3.13	2.86	3.25	2.95	3.23	3.48

Comment: Quite strongly individualistic.

82. My lessons at school were generally interesting and enjoyable.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	8	85	291	43	49	3
Percentage	1.67	17.75	60.75	8.98	10.23	0.63

Average 2.14
Agree 376 (78.50%)
Disagree 52 (10.86%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.89
Positive/negative score: 0.76

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.01	2.00	2.06	2.30	1.79	2.09	2.41

Comment: Process praised again.

83. My success in the future will be largely a matter of luck.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	8	68	142	52	161	48
Percentage	1.67	14.20	29.65	10.86	33.61	10.02

Average 2.96
Agree 210 (43.84%)
Disagree 209 (43.63%)
Split question
Standard deviation: 1.32
Positive/negative score: 0.02

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH

2.85	3.38	2.53	3.13	2.55	2.88	3.93

Comment: The elite schools seem to rely less on luck than the others.

84. My teachers at school were generally well qualified.

Response	0	1	2	3	4	5
Number	9	65	262	64	74	5
Percentage	1.88	13.57	54.70	13.36	15.45	1.04

Average 2.34
Agree 327 (68.27%)
Disagree 79 (16.49%)
Agree question
Standard deviation: 0.98
Positive/negative score: 0.62

ADM	DLS	FEU	PUP	TIP	UOE	UPH
2.35	1.88	2.26	2.54	2.09	2.13	2.44

Comment: Strong affirmation of process again.

Appendix 3 - Axes for analysis with reasoning

Two layers of analysis are needed:
1. What the students think about the society at large and
2. What role education plays within the identified structures

Questions included for each axis are listed, with a=agree type, d=disagree type and s=split type. A minus sign indicates answers need to be reversed to retain meaning of axis. Responses were coded with values 1 to 5 from the Lickert scale. A sum was then calculated for each axis, thus allocating equal importance to all respnses. Hence the first axis has a range of 0 to 15 for three questions, all taken in the positive sense. The second axis still has a range of 15, but this time spread from -5 to 10 because of the sense of question 60.

Concept	Society at large	Education's role or effect
Material/career advancement		19a Education increases your chances of a highly paid job 22s Education is the main thing which will determine a person's earning 50a My education is most useful in helping me find a job in the Philippines. (three questions: range 0 to 15)
Personal development (education for its own sake)		11s Educated people tend to be more contented with their life. 20a Education important in itself -60d School was generally boring or uninteresting (three questions: range -5 to 10)
Promotes changed ways of thinking, attitudes and values or skills conducive to development (i.e. functional effectiveness)	54a National development is helped when more people have access to education 78a Western values dominate the education system in the Philippines (two questions: range 0 to 10)	13a Education builds skills valued by employers (one question: range 0 to 5)
Social mobility and greater equality, merit	-2a Social and economic status determine earnings -33s Highly paid jobs always go to the elite 56a Poor people can become better off through education -67s The highly paid jobs go only to the elite (four questions: range -15 to 5)	12a Education allows a person to get access to highly paid jobs -14d Education fragments society by separating people into rich and poor. 15a Education helps promote equality 19a Education increases your chances of a highly paid job 22s Education is the main thing which will determine a person's earnings -23a Education maintains the status quo. -27s Educational success is determined by social or family background. 57s Privilege in society is reduced by education -72s There are only a limited number of opportunities for people to gain higher status through education (nine questions: range -20 to 25)
Individualism	4a Solving own problems is a sign of strength 34a I will decide where I will work -37a If I have a problem, it is better to share it with my family rather than trying to solve it myself. 44a It is important to challenge views if I do not agree with them	24a Education promotes independent thinking (one question: range 0 to 5)

	52a I myself have the most power over my future success -81s My family should have a large say in where I should work (six questions: range -10 to 20)	
Nationalism, national identity, national pride		77a Understanding of Filipino culture is developed by the education system (one question: range 0 to 5)
Screening and credentialism	68a The qualifications needed for jobs nowadays are higher than they used to be (one question: range 0 to 5)	21s Education is just a way of identifying the most employable people (one question: range 0 to 5)
Lower fertility	28a Families should have fewer children -38s It is a good thing to preserve the tradition of large families 39a It is better for people to wait before having children -59s Raising children is the purpose of marriage (four questions: range -10 to 10)	
Pluralism	61s Society is strengthened when there are many different peoples and beliefs (one question: range 0 to 5)	-8s Educated people are mainly interested in themselves 25a Education promotes understanding of different groups (two questions: range -5 to 5)
Modernity, pluralism	7a Development relies on technology -30d It is better to educate a small number of highly trained people -41s It is better to educate a small number of people than provide elementary for everyone 48a Multinationals help development by investing (four questions: range -10 to 10)	-29d Small farmers do not need education. 80a When peasants are taught to read and write they can produce more on their farms (two questions: range -5 to 5)
Power difference – distance from power, permanence of power structures, unwillingness to question	2a Social and economic status determine earnings 6d Criticising teachers is disrespectful -44a It is important to challenge views if I do not agree with them -63a Students should always challenge their teachers when they think they are wrong. 81s My family should have a large say in where I should work (five questions: range -10 to 15)	26s Education teaches you to do as you are told (one question: range 0 to 5)
Uncertainty avoidance – anxiety, future orientation, stress, resistance to change jobs, loyalty, larger organisations, low mobility, hierarchies	38s It is a good thing to preserve the tradition of large families -43a It is good for society's vales and assumptions to be questioned -61s Society is strengthened when there are many different peoples and beliefs 69s The views of my elders should always be respected, even when I disagree with them 73 There are values in society which should never be questioned (five questions: range -10 to 15)	3a Education promotes social harmony (one question: range 0 to 5)
Individualism – personal time, independence,	4a Solving own problems is a sign of strength 5s Possessions are a sign of success	

small companies preferred, calculative involvement, freedom, universalism, own ends	34a I will decide where I will work 52a I myself have the most power over my future success. (four questions: range 0 to 20)	
Masculinity – excelling, decisiveness, live to work, possessions, materialism	5s Possessions are a sign of success -37a If I have a problem, it is better to share it with my family rather than trying to solve it myself. (two questions: range -5 to 5)	-10s Educated people worry less about possessions than others 12 Education allows a person to get highly paid jobs -11s Educated people tend to be more contented with their life 19 Education increases your chances of getting a highly paid job (four questions: range -10 to 10)
Relevance	66a The country's future development will depend on the quality of its managers and professionals (one question: range 0 to 5)	-16s Education concentrates on things not useful (one question: range -5 to 0)
Standards & Quality		17a Education is as good now as ever -47d My teachers were unqualified -74s There has been a deterioration in education in the Philippines during my lifetime 82a My lessons at school were generally interesting and enjoyable 84a My teachers were generally well qualified. (five questions: range -10 to 15)
Rote learning		18s Education relies on rote learning 76a There is too much progressive or modern education (two questions: range 0 to 10)
Free trade orientation	31a free trade promotes economic development -42s Foreign firms hinder development by taking profits out of the country 48a Multinationals help development by investing -53a National development is helped by imposing tariffs on imports. (four questions: range -10 to 10)	
Migration	-35a I want to stay in the Philippines after my education 36d I want to work overseas and will not consider working at in the Philippines 49d My aim is to work overseas 62a Staying in the Philippines is what I want, but I may have to go overseas for work (four questions: range -5 to 15)	32a Education helps people find work overseas (one question: range 0 to 5)
Language in Filipino		1d Teach in Filipino -75s There is not enough time spent on learning English (two questions: range -5 to 5)
Opportunity	-45s It will be hard to get a job in the Philippines when my education is finished 62a Staying in the Philippines is	

	what I want, but I may have to go overseas for work 70s There are lots of jobs for educated people in the Philippines (three questions: range -5 to 10)	
Education as investment	55a Paying for education is a form of investment -64s The country cannot afford to educate so many college graduates because many of them will not find work. (two questions: range -5 to 5)	-51s My increased earnings as a result of education will not make up for what I have paid in school and college fees. (one question: range -5 to 0)
Fatalism	83s My success in future will be largely a matter of luck (one question: range 0 to 5)	
Wide access	40s It is better to cut costs in HE so that everyone can have elementary education -58a Providing good quality elementary education for everybody in the Philippines would be too expensive 79a Promote literacy and education of the general population (three questions: range -5 to 10)	

Questions rejected or not yet used

9 educated people are never happy with what they have ….. too many negative connotations
46 lack of unity behind a clear set of values is a sign of weakness in society – too many neagtives
65 The country could develop by aiding small farmers … begs question of what kind of development, what kind of aid and to what end
71 There are more opportunities now for educated people than there were for your parents – vague, national development and comparative

Appendix 4 - Axes for analysis with reasoning - overall results

Two layers of analysis are needed:
3. What the students think about the society at large and
4. What role education plays within the identified structures

Overall results with college type analysis

The axes identified in Appendix 3 had different ranges of scores depending on the number of questions included. To standardise the values and thereby make them easier to understand, each one of the ranges has been arithmetically mapped onto a scale of 1 to 100, so a score of 0 indicates agreement, 100 indicates disagreement.

Concept	Society at large	Education's role or effect
Material/career advancement		Average 42.3 Standard deviation 11.7 Range 13-100 Average is higher 47 vs 42 for elite colleges. Elite students are less confident that education delivers material and career advancement, but overall the respondents do think that education can deliver.
Personal development (education for its own sake)		Average 40.1 Standard deviation 11.9 Range 13-87 Averages across college type reveal that the elite students greater belief in education's role in personal development. Overall everyone believes in the education process
Promotes changed ways of thinking, attitudes and values or skills conducive to development (i.e. functional effectiveness)	Average 43.2 Standard deviation 12.7 Range 0-80 General agreement, with elite colleges more confident about this than the others	Average 33.1 Standard deviation 12.6 Range 0-100 General agreement about this, but the elite colleges are slightly more skeptical than the others
Social mobility and greater equality, merit	Average 43.7 Standard deviation 13.7 Range 5-85 No clear patters. Overall agreement.	Average 43.5 Standard deviation 7.2 Range 24-82 Overall agreement, again with the elite colleges more skeptical
Individualism	Average 39.8 Standard deviation 8.3 Range 13-70 All highly individualistic	Average 38.3 Standard deviation 16.8 Range 0-100 All believe that education promotes independent thinking, but lower status colleges more in agreement than middle and these more than elite
Nationalism, national identity, national pride		Average 41.4 Standard deviation 16.1 Range 0-100 Elite school significantly less inclined to agree
Screening and credentialism	Average 39.5 Standard deviation 15.1 Range 0-100 All agree with this	Average 60.5 Standard deviation 23 Range 0-100 Disagreement with the screening hypothesis, especially amongst the elite students. Note large standard deviation. Question elicits a wide range of responses
Lower fertility	Average 39.9	

	Standard deviation 11.9 Range 10-80 General agreement on idea of lowering birth rate.	
Pluralism	Average 62.3 Standard deviation 22.2 Range 0-100 Generally not pluralistic, but elite students tend to be more so than the others.	Average 34.8 Standard deviation 13.9 Range 10-90 Despite disagreeing that pluralism is good for society, they do feel that education helps to promote understanding of others and makes on less selfish, though low status colleges to less degree.
Modernity, pluralism	Average 35.8 Standard deviation 11.4 Range 5-70 General modernisers in outlook - need for technology etc.	Average 28.1 Standard deviation 12.4 Range 0-100 Resoundingly they believe education promotes modernity amongst the rural population
Power difference – distance from power, permanence of power structures, unwillingness to question	Average 58.4 Standard deviation 9.7 Range 28-92 Students generally disagree slightly that there exists a high degree of power difference. Varies with college type, however. Elite students reject PDI strongly (67), whereas the others reject it only mildly (59, 57)	Average 55.8 Standard deviation 23.1 Range 0-100 General disagreement, in line with the general belief in the efficacy of education to promote individualism. Very marked difference between elite schools (70 and the rest (56, 53).
Uncertainty avoidance – anxiety, future orientation, stress, resistance to change jobs, loyalty, larger organisations, low mobility, hierarchies	Average 52.6 Standard deviation 9.7 Range 20-80 No pattern. General slight tendency not to avoid uncertainty - i.e. willing to take risks	Average 34.6 Standard deviation 15.1 Range 0-100 But general agreement that education is a stabilising influence in society, though there is a marked difference between the elite students and the others. Elite student again more skeptical.
Individualism – personal time, independence, small companies preferred, calculative involvement, freedom, universalism, own ends	Average 39.4 Standard deviation 11.4 Range 15-90 Generally individualistic in relation to Hofstede's definition. Across colleges, the lower status, the stronger is the identification with this belief. Elite - low 49, 40, 37.	
Masculinity – excelling, decisiveness, live to work, possessions, materialism	Average 54.9 Standard deviation 14.5 Range 20-90 Slight disagreement with idea that society at large is masculine according to Hofstede's idea. Monotonic with status, high status = less in agreement, low status more in agreement	Average 39.1 Standard deviation 10.2 Range 10-70 But general agreement that education promotes masculinity - i.e. more access to earnings, possessions etc, with the lower status colleges slightly more skeptical than the other two.
Relevance	Average 49.4 Standard deviation 221. Range 0-100 Elite colleges tend to agree more strongly (45, 50,49)	Average 43.3 Standard deviation 23.5 Range 0-80 Marginal agreement, with the less elite colleges more inclined to think that education lacks relevance
Standards & Quality		Average 43.8 Standard deviation 11.3

		Range 12-88 Generally think that standards are as high as ever. Elite colleges disagree, however, and are less inclined to think that standards are as high as before. (50, 43,44)
Rote learning		Average 53 Standard deviation 15 Range 10-100 General disagreement with this idea. Elite school more inclined to disagree than the others - perhaps an indication of their greater individuality? And different course structures? (62,53,52)
Free trade orientation	Average 47.1 Standard deviation 10.2 Range 20-85 Split on this. No pattern.	
Migration	Average 62.4 Standard deviation 16 Range 20-95 Tendency for all students not to want to migrate. More pronounced among elite, however (69,62.61)	Average 52.7 Standard deviation 22.4 Range 0-100 Linked to status. Higher status tend to agree, lower status disagree (49,52,55)
Language in Filipino		Average 57.4 Standard deviation 15.2 Range 10-100 Generally disagree.
Opportunity	Average 49.6 Standard deviation 14.0 Range 13-93 Mixed on whether opportunities exist. Elite schools tend to be more worried about opportunity than non-elite (but marginally)	
Education as investment	Average 43.1 Standard deviation 15.2 Range 10-90 General agreement. Elite schools agree very strongly (35), others less so (43,45)	Average 36.2 Standard deviation 22.8 Range 0-100 Generally in line with belief that education is an investment. Low status students less sure about this (but still in agreement), levels 1 and 2 quite sure (33,32)
Fatalism	Average 58.1 Standard deviation 26.4 Range 0-100 General disagreement that luck will be a major force in their futures. Elite colleges strongly disagree with this (76), other less sure (58,55)	
Wide access	Average 45.7 Standard deviation 11.8 Range 13-93 General agreement, just. No pattern	

Analysis by sex reveals the same patterns as above. There are no axes where there is a wide difference between the male and female responses. In some areas, marginal differences do exist. These are as follows:

4 points or more difference:

Axis	Female score	Male score
Screening and credentialism in society	38	43
Females agree more strongly on existence of credentialism		
Pluralism promoted by education	34	38
Females agree more that education promotes understanding of others		
PDI promoted by education	57	53
Females disagree more that education is about knowing your place		
Relevance of education	42	48
Females believe more strongly in relevance of education		
Migration	64	59
Females see migration as a less likely option		
Language	59	55
Females more strongly prefer English		
Fatalism	57	62
Females slightly more fatalistic (but still not fatalistic)		

3 points difference

Axis	Female score	Male score
Personal development	41	38
Females see education less for personal development		
Lower fertility	39	42
Females want fewer children		
Standards and quality	43	46
Females more likely to thing standards are OK		
Rote learning	54	51
Males more inclined to criticise rote learning		
Free trade orientation	48	45
Males more likely to favour free trade		

Analysis by social class

Concept	Society at large	Education's role or effect
Material/career advancement		Average range 45-41 Varies monotonically with class, lower social class seeing more belief in material advancement
Personal development (education for its own sake)		Average values 37-39-41-40 Higher social classes believe more in education as personal advancement
Promotes changed ways of thinking, attitudes and values or skills conducive to development (i.e. functional effectiveness)	Average 41-43-44-44 Higher social classes believe in changed ways of thinking etc slightly more strongly than lower classes	Average 35-33-33-33 Class 1 believes slightly less strongly in education promotes changed attitudes, but overall they all agree that it does
Social mobility and greater equality, merit	Average 40-44-44-43 Highest social class believes more strongly in the existence of meritocracy	Average 45-44-43-43 Slightly less belief in upper group that education can deliver mobility
Individualism	Average 38-40-40-40 Slightly more individualist upper group	Average 37-35-41-38 No pattern - all believe education fosters individuality
Nationalism, national identity, national pride		Average 46-40-42-41 Upper group believe less in education's capacity to foster national identity -maybe just more

		skeptical
Screening and credentialism	Average 42-38-39-42 No pattern	Average 62-63-60-57 Belief in existence of screening through education increases down social classes
Lower fertility	Average 39-41-39-40 No pattern	
Pluralism (comment here on different signs of these two responses)	Average 59-62-62-63 Belief in strength through pluralism is stronger in higher social classes	Average 33-33-36-36 Higher class believes education promotes understanding of others more strongly than lower classes
Modernity, pluralism	Average no pattern	Average 27-27-29-29 Strong agreement, upper classes more confident in it
Power difference – distance from power, permanence of power structures, unwillingness to question	Average 66-58-58-57 Upper groups less conscious of power difference	Average 64-58-54-54 Upper groups less conscious of power differences in education (more independent)
Uncertainty avoidance – anxiety, future orientation, stress, resistance to change jobs, loyalty, larger organisations, low mobility, hierarchies	Average 55-52-54-51 No pattern	Average 39-33-35-36 All agree that education promotes social harmony, but upper class group less sure on this
Individualism – personal time, independence, small companies preferred, calculative involvement, freedom, universalism, own ends	Average 43-39-39-40 Upper group appears to be less convinced of individual nature of society	
Masculinity – excelling, decisiveness, live to work, possessions, materialism	Average 56-57-54-55 No pattern, but all on feminine side of axis	Average 36-40-38-40 Upper class slightly more belief that education promotes masculine values
Relevance	Average 49-46-49-54 Lower social class less convinced of relevance of education, and less convinced that the educated class holds the key to future progress	Average 43-44-45-37 Lower classes believe much more in the education process, itself, however
Standards & Quality		Average 48-44-44-41 All on side of believing standards are OK, but upper social classes more skeptical about long term standards - again tendency for lower social classes to appear content with what they are delivered
Rote learning		Average 58-54-52-53 Stronger disagreement on reliance on rote learning among upper groups - equals greater confidence in expressing themselves?
Free trade orientation	Average 43-46-48-47 Upper group more willing to believe in free trade	
Migration	Average 64-62-62-63 No pattern - all on side of wanting to stay at home	Average 53-51-53-55 No pattern - but more ready to acknowledge that education does facilitate migration (but still slightly on disagree side)
Language in Filipino		Average 61-58-56-57

		Upper social class more in favour of English
Opportunity	Average 54-49-50-49 Upper groups more worried about whether opportunities exist	
Education as investment	Average 34-43-44-44 Upper classes more convinced that education is an investment	Average 33-39-36-35 Consistent, even personally upper group think education will pay off for them
Fatalism	Average 74-60-57-52 Belief in fatalism grows from upper to lower social class	
Wide access	Average 45-45-46-47 No pattern, but generally more faith in education among upper groups	

Analysis by father's and mother's education level

Concept	Society at large	Education's role or effect
Material/career advancement		F Average 44-43-41-41-45 M Average47-47-41-41-43 People who feel most unsure about education's capacity to deliver material advancement are the people in the middle of the educational experience
Personal development (education for its own sake)		F Average 36-39-42-39-40 M Average 33-33-40-39-42 More educated parents stress education as personal development
Promotes changed ways of thinking, attitudes and values or skills conducive to development (i.e. functional effectiveness)	F Average 42-44-42-45-45 M Average 42-42-43-45-42 No pattern	F Average 31-34-32-34-31 M Average 33-33-32-34-33 No pattern
Social mobility and greater equality, merit	F Average 45-44-44-44-38 M Average 33-33-44-44-42 Lower educated fathers and higher educated mothers believe in mobility throughout society!!!!	F Average 44-44-43-45-40 M Average 45-45-43-45-42 Lower educated parents tend to believe more in education's ability to deliver mobility
Individualism	F Average 35-40-40-42-41 M Average 39-39-40-42-41 Highest educated parents instill idea of individuality	F Average 33-38-39-39-38 M Average 33-33-40-39-38 Higher educated parents instill idea that education builds individualism
Nationalism, national identity, national pride		F Average 38-42-41-42-46 M Average 42-42-41-42-48 Higher educated parents tend to be more nationalistic
Screening and credentialism	F Average 40-40-38-43-40 M Average 40-40-39-43-43 No pattern	F Average 62-60-62-53-65 M Average 69-69-59-53-65 Generally the higher educated parents instill a belief in education as an end in itself, not just for employment. Least educated parents equally believe in education
Lower fertility	F Average 41-41-39-41-42 M Average 37-37-41-41-41	

	Higher educated mothers associated with attitude to lower fertility	
Pluralism	F Average 65-61-62-66-65 M Average 60-60-62-66-61 No pattern	F Average 35-34-34-36-39 M Average 31-31-35-36-40 Strong tendency for higher educated mothers to be associated with belief that education promotes understanding
Modernity, pluralism	F Average 30-37-35-37-37 M Average 34-34-36-37-34 Higher educated fathers associated with belief in modernity	F Average 22-27-29-30-31 M Average 24-24-28-30-30 Strong association between parents' education and belief that education can contribute to modernity
Power difference – distance from power, permanence of power structures, unwillingness to question	F Average 61-59-58-57-62 M Average 69-69-58-57-60 People who feel the power difference the strongest are those with parents who completed secondary or elementary but did not go to college - i.e. were admitted part of the way into the modern sector?	F Average 58-55-57-53-53 M Average 56-56-55-53-55 No pattern
Uncertainty avoidance – anxiety, future orientation, stress, resistance to change jobs, loyalty, larger organisations, low mobility, hierarchies	F Average 54-53-53-52-51 M Average 57-57-52-52-54 Generally the more educated parents encourage willingness to take risks	F Average 35 all M Average 49-49-35-35-36 Better educated fathers skeptical about education's role in promoting social harmony
Individualism – personal time, independence, small companies preferred, calculative involvement, freedom, universalism, own ends	F Average 35-40-39-42-40 M Average 41-41-39-42-40 No patterns	
Masculinity – excelling, decisiveness, live to work, possessions, materialism	F Average 51-56-54-55-57 M Average 52-52-54-55-57 More educated means more masculine, or materialistic influences	F Average 36-40-39-40-37 M Average 41-41-39-40-39 No pattern
Relevance	F Average 55-48-49-52-57 M Average 49-49-49-52-55 Generally the more educated stress the relevance of education - exception highly educated fathers	F Average 44-45-43-39-44 M Average 40-40-46-39-40 No pattern
Standards & Quality		F Average 47-45-43-43-44 M Average 46-46-4443-46 No pattern
Rote learning		F Average 57-52-53-54-51 M Average 54-54-53-54-50 No pattern, with possibly a re-statement of the belief in education expressed by higher educated parents

Free trade orientation	F Average 42-46-48-49-47 M Average 42-42-47-49-47 More highly educated parent associated with free trade orientation	
Migration	F Average 67-61-62-65-59 M Average 78-78-63-65-59 Higher educated parents associated with strong desire to stay at home	F Average 53-52-5352-55 M Average 56-5654-52-53 No pattern
Language in Filipino		F Average 61-56-58-59-59 M Average 63-63-56-59-59 More educated parent associated with desire for English language
Opportunity	F Average 53-50-4852-49 M Average 56-56-49-52-47 Better educated parents associated with greater realism about opportunities	
Education as investment	F Average 35-44-42-46-43 M Average 28-28-45-46-43 More educated parent - especially mother - associated with idea of education as an investment	F Average 25-40-35-38-24 M Average 40-40-35-38-35 Very mixed
Fatalism	F Average 73-61-57-51-53 M Average 84-84-58-51-57 Less educated parent more strongly associated with fatalistic outlook. Especially opposed to fatalistic ideas are educated mothers	
Wide access	F Average 47-4546-46-45 M Average 41-41-46-46-48 More educated mothers associated with idea of wide access to education	

Appendix 5 - Meeting with urban poor community

Sto Domingo, Quezon City squatters' area - meeting with group of urban poor women organised by BG

Location - near St Benedict's Church, Quezon Avenue

Thursday 31/8/95, 7:30-9:30pm, BG translated throughout, though some of the women had enough English to express their ideas.

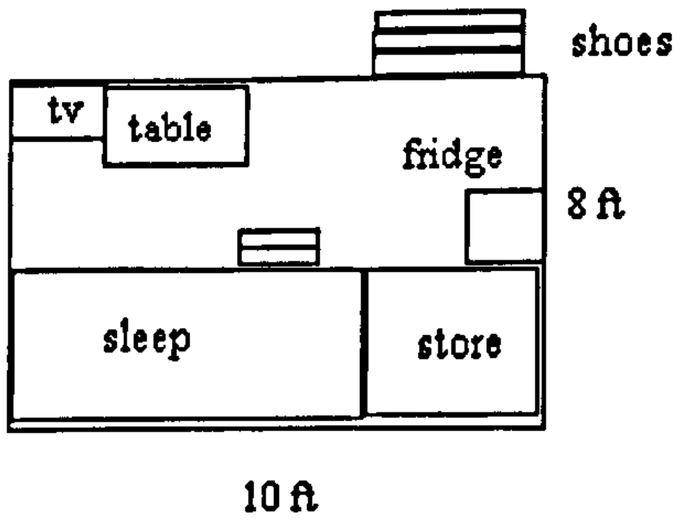
Present:

Lisa - 4 children, 2 in elementary school
Mariette - 2 children, 1 graduated High School, 1 in Year 4 High School (P175/year)
Belinda - 3 children, 2 in Grade 5 Elementary, 1 Year 2 High School
Nene - 2 children, 1 Grade 3 Elementary, 1 Year 4 High School (private Catholic, P5000/year)
Bebe - 3 children, 1 Year 4 High School, 1 Grade 3 Elementary, 1 Grade 1 elementary

Setting

Turn right at church from northerly direction. Right again at first junction and then turn into an alley between shop-shanties. Path goes down from road over broken concrete and bricks. There is no light. Path then turns to mud - the whole area is very low lying. Informed by BG that there was 4 feet of water in this spot after the typhoon of 36 hours before. Stepping stones placed at regular intervals in the mud. Possible to support your progress by holding onto the houses on either side of the path while your feet find the stones. As you do this, the walls give and the houses tend to move a little. Building materials vary, but are mainly oddments of wood, hardboard and corrugated iron sheets. There is occasional use of cardboard, but overall this is a fairly well established urban poor community, so the houses are generally constructed of quite sturdy materials since people have had, over time, the opportunity to consolidate and replace poorer materials as supplies of the better ones came their way.

First visited here five years ago in 1988. General feeling now is that the area is more cramped and less easy to live in than before. There has clearly been an influx of fairly recent settlers into the area. After 50 to 100 metres along the path, we arrive at the house where the meeting is to take place. It is a quite well established house. Raised some two feet from the ground, it has three steps onto an entrance platform where all shoes are left. Inside there are basically three spaces - a main living area, a raised sleeping area and a rear store. The sleeping area is two-tier.



As we arrive, a girl of high school age puts away her homework which she has been doing lying down in the sleeping area. They have electricity, a tv and a fridge. As we talked, mice ran freely across the table and along the laths supporting the wallboards.

Points raised and discussed

Costs - estimates varied, but overall agreement on a figure of about P600 per month per child to cover transport and food for a school student.

Beginning this year, elementary education is now free. In Manila, everything is free. In Quezon City, however, they are still paying P100 per child. National textbooks are free in state schools. In private schools, everyone buys materials and books. No matter where students go in the private sector, it is very expensive. BG estimated incomes in this area as around P2000 per month per family.

Generally the children are very keen to do well. There is an absence of "anti" or "school phobia". Class sizes are usually between 40 and 55. There are usually enough teachers, but sometimes schools suffer from teacher absenteeism. Some schools respond by consolidating classes, other send children home.

There is general agreement that private schools treat students very well. In present company, private equals Catholic. State schools do not deal well with values and attitude formation. The example set by the teachers themselves is not seen as a good one.

They feel that low student achievement is not catered for - i.e. there are no programmes for slow learners, special needs etc. Students who cannot cope rebel and drop out. Common practice is to divide classes into "rows' depending on IQ and test scores. The bright students go into row 1 and the least bright into row 4 etc. Students are motivated to get promotion from one row to another, so it is a very competitive environment even in elementary school. There is a stigma attached to being at the back. It is generally believed that the financially better off students are always at the front.

Bebe - There are some scholarships available for fees. CARITAS (or CARE) offer them. She knows of only one scholarship holder in this area. Students with such awards must maintain an average of 85% in tests to hold onto the scholarship.

Homework is given every night. Usually the mother or guardian helps with this. They regard helping with homework as a full time job! Students get weekly tests and quizzes. Belinda expresses the opinion that teachers in public schools just pass the students anyway - i.e. that the assessment and marking process is not carried out conscientiously and thus there no real assessment of what the child has actually learned.

General agreement that private education is better quality. Teachers in state schools are seen as passing the buck. They do not take responsibility for children's' learning. There is general agreement that most elementary school students have reading difficulties which are not addressed properly in school.

Girls are generally perceived as more active in school. Often boys drop out after their second year. The current batch of students from this area is seen as doing better at school, however. In general, students are studying harder these days. They have learned about hardship because of where they live and they are keen to study and graduate. Graduation is the key - this is what can open up something better in the future. Attitudes to education are wholly pragmatic. Graduation equals a job. Students need at least high school graduation

to stand any chance of a job. People are generally aware of national development priorities, quoting the Philippine 2000 vision, which foresees all Filipinos with high school certificates by the century end.

Students and parents are very interested in computers. Information technology is seen as an area where there are more employment opportunities. There is still a shortage of jobs overall. In the past, high school graduation meant status. Now parents feel that to have any real change of a reasonable job you must have college qualifications. In the past, there was a stronger tendency for girls to be seen just as future housewives. Now opportunities are more equal. Common ambitions are lawyer, criminology (police), nursing, computers and engineering.

Very little careers advice or guidance is available in high school. The transfer from elementary to high school operates very much as a market. In some cases, elementary teachers give referrals to particular schools, but in general, you have to shop around. There is always an entrance exam. The main problem with college education is the cost. Even when a student gets a place, there is no guarantee that parents will be able to continue supporting the expense. Some students work through college. A "working student" maintains a full-time job or part-time job with long hours to earn the college fees. It takes a minimum of 5 years for a working student to get through. It is generally easy for working students to find some kind of job. Usually this will be in fast food. The industry seems to rely on part-time students at low rates of pay.

It is common for students to want to go abroad. The job and the money are the motivation. The children themselves decide what is worth taking up. Parents estimate that P20,000 to P30,000 would be worthwhile (basically US$1000 per month). (Note: This contrasts with the pay of a domestic in Brunei - B$300 per month plus food and accommodation - or a shop worker - about B$500. It indicates that these urban poor in Quezon City are significantly better off than the majority of people who migrate to take up the vast majority of overseas opportunities.)

On mentioning Singapore domestic helpers, the women express the opinion that these are really prostitutes. The women themselves are seen as the commodity being traded. As far as OCWs overall are concerned, these women regard the usual OCW as college trained. It indicates that college graduation is also a passport to overseas work.

Basically, however, education benefits the rich and the rich kids already have a planned future. There is a feeling that the education received by their kids needs better planning and coordination.

Appendix 6 - Interview transcripts

Below is representative selection of interview transcripts. Interviews were semi-structured. Interviewees were encouraged to speak their mind in whatever area they though might be relevant to the process or experience of education. They were asked to provide some information about themselves, such as age, occupation, marital status and educational background. As the interview progressed, the researcher ensured that several areas were covered. These were:

Personal goals and ambitions
Values and traits most respected
Values upheld or promoted by education
Personal history and "self-formation"
"Gift of self" - important things which shaped personal values
Meaning of educational quality
Public spending on education
Types of school attended
Reaction to one's own education
General function of education
Benefits of education
Effects of education
Current occupation
Why students drop out of school
Details of working situation (for those working in education)

Some respondents gave their names, while others asked to remain anonymous. Minor changes have been made to the structure of the answers, such as insertion of occasional words to help construct sentences. Some grammatically incorrect but commonly used terms have been left as they were used in the answers.

Rosemarie Vergara

She is 34 years old and separated from or abandoned by her husband. She has 12 children, of whom 3 are deceased, 1 was aborted, 1 was adopted and 7 are living with her. She herself spent seven years in school and finished grade 6 elementary. She works as a laundry woman and vendor, earning P50 per day or about P18,500 per year. Her children augment the family income by collecting garbage and vending cigarettes.

Education and life goals

I guess education has helped me in my life goals. My goal was to get out of our poor living situation, since my mother is a laundry woman and I used to help her with her work. I believed then that if I finished my education, I would be able to find a better job. We are very poor.

Through my education I learned to read and write. These basic skills I use when I buy and sell, when I have to compute, multiply, add or subtract - especially when I sell cigarettes, so people cannot deceive me.

My goal now is to send my children to school. My eldest who is now 16 has only finished Grade 6.

My children's education is:

16 year old girl	Grade 6
15 year old girl	Grade 5
13 year old boy	Grade 1
12 year old girl	Unschooled
7 year old boy	Unschooled
5 year old girl	
3 year old boy	

I never knew education is a right guaranteed by the government, until we had our workshop on the rights of the child and of women. Now I know everyone has a right to go to school but I do no have the money. Where will I get the money to send them to school? I am thinking of approaching some charitable institution for their schooling.

Values
I believe in the value of relating well with others (pakikisama). When you are poor this is your wealth - people, relations, good relations with others. Look at me, I have nothing, there are times when I do not earn anything, yet our neighbours help us out with our needs. The same goes for me, when I have something to give, I give to others in need. If I do not know how to get along with others, we would probably be dead.

I also teach them the realities of life - about our poverty. I openly teach them to learn from my mistakes, from my husband's mistakes. I tell my boys not to abandon their children, their families, if and when they get married.

I feel the only way they can get out of poverty is through education, so I teach them the value of education.

Values upheld by education
I think education values itself because it is an essential requirement for a job, a stable, good paying job. My life attests to this, I do not finish my schooling, I am only a laundry woman.

Self formation
Poverty formed me. My mother is a laundry woman and I used to fetch water for her when I was a child. We have lived here in Quezon City since 1970. We are pure Tagalog. I married at 16 thinking life would improve with marriage. My former husband is a construction worker. This is when I saw real life.

I realised the poverty I grew up with could be worse. To be able to buy the things I needed for school before I got married, I would sell used plastic which I picked out from garbage. I would also look for scrap food from the big houses or from restaurants to sell to those who raised pigs. I worked myself to school.

But when I got married, my husband beat me up and often he would not give me money for the children. So I ended up being mother and father to the children.

My relationship with my husband, my marriage is the biggest influence to my self formation. What did education do to influence my current life? Very difficult to answer - maybe education has shown me I can survive on my own.

Influence
I am who I am because of myself. I believe that since I got myself into this rut I can manage to survive and hopefully get out of it. I also believe very strongly in a God who will see my children through these difficulties.

Quality education
Quality education is education which allows the poor like me to go to school. Quality education ensures education for all. If education only guarantees the rights of those who have money then this is not quality education. I used to think education is only for those with money.

Budget
Government should increase its budget for education to allow everyone to go to school. For myself for every P100 I get I set aside P50 for their needs.

Type of school
My children attend public schools in Quezon City.

Reaction to education systems
I guess education then was better. When I was going to school I could not afford books so I would listen very well to what my teacher taught and then go to the library. Now if you do not have the books, you cannot get anything just by listening to the teacher. It is as if teaching is now done through the books, no longer by the teacher.

Function of education
This is the only way out of poverty. Education gives individuals to be self reliant, to live, to get out of poverty.

Benefits
The rich. They are the only ones with good quality education who enjoy the privileges of government like quality consumer goods and properties.

Effects of education
To improve one's social and economic standing, although the poor even with education, will not be equal to the rich.

Current concerns
Ensure my children's education. I do not want them to suffer my fate.

Drop-out
Poverty

Carmelita Jamoralin

She is 38 years old and married with 2 children. She spent 14 years in school, completing her 2nd year BS in Education. She and her husband have an annual joint income of between P48,000 and P50,000.

Education and life goals
I am able to use in my daily life what I learned in school like:
- How to care for my family
- Teaching my children
- How to budget our daily expenses
- How to interact with different peoples from different economic class

Family values/society's values
These contrast to education's values. I do not believe education teaches individuals and society's values which are in contrast to those values upheld by family and people. In fact, I believe education helps to develop our country. Poverty is not a direct result of education, but due to the following factors:
- People's attitudes/laziness
- Lack of jobs for people
- Many have not finished their studies/many drop out

These are some of the values we uphold as a family:
- Importance of education
- Respect of others
- Honesty, not to cheat on others
- Love of God

These are some values upheld by education, to my mind:
- Respect of others, education is actually viewed as an extension of our homes, as they say "The teacher is the second parent"
- Honesty
- Intelligence and working for/value of good grades
- Closeness to God

But, one big shortcoming of formal education is that the curriculum and the teachers do not or are not able to immediately change the content of teaching - ie. the curriculum. Education is very slow to change like in our local community day-care center we already teach the students how to care for the environment and the schools have not yet integrated this.

Values upheld by education
Some other values upheld by education are:
- Good future for the graduates or for all
- Developing our minds and attitudes
- Good manners and right conduct

Self-formation
I believe that as a result of my education, I have a capacity to understand others, I have also learned to discern from what is right and wrong. Lastly, I am able to be self-reliant, to stand on my own. I am my own person.

Factors that influence self-formation
I am who I am because of my parents, my family. It is my parents who taught me my values, they are my first teachers. Before I went to school they already taught me the basics of reading and writing. They also taught me my moral values - what is right and wrong.

Education gave me the skills to understand the sciences.

But, in my stage of life, I attribute the biggest influence to our local peoples' organization. Through our organization, my world expanded, I learned to be diplomatic, to lead others, to meet other people of different economic class and nationalities. The most important aspects of my self, I attribute to our organization.

Quality education
Quality education is when the learners, the students learn more than what we teach them. Quality education should be simple but easy to understand. Education has a way of making learning very complicated, this is one reason why many children also drop out from school. Education, good, quality education should be adopted to one's life experience - there should be more fieldtrips where theories can be tested against life's realities. Education should combine the use of the mind or intellect with sight and even feelings.

Budget
Definitely, the government should increase its budget for education. The government is accountable to the people, to the Pilipino, therefore, the government is obligated to educate each youth.

For our family, for every P100 - P60 goes to the children's needs: transportation to and from school, their food, school supplies etc. I teach my children to go to school even if the do not have food while they are in school.

Types of schools
I went to a private school in Metro Manila, the University of the east for the most part of my schooling. But, I also spent some 4 to 5 years of my elementary in an urban public school.

Reactions to the Education System
Education here is patterned after the United States, so I think it is a poor system. It must adapt to our situation. Also, tuition increases yearly, without the quality improving. But, some aspects like the use of computers in school. And also math.

Function of Education
Education should liberate each human being. It should free us from our fears, our poverty. Education should not dictate on the students, right now, our education is still of the banking type where the teachers asks and the students answer. Education should be liberating - everyone should be encouraged to think, to create. Right now, I also think DECS sets the entire curriculum for the students, this should not be the way - there should also be opportunities for the student's opinions and recommendations to be incorporated in what will be ultimately taught to them.

Who benefits
Only those who have successfully graduated and are currently employed. Even if one graduates but does not find gainful employment, then this is not successful education.

Main effect of education
Freedom, liberty because education destroy's limits/limitations and fears. You can always do something to find meaning in life, you fear no one. You can also feel proud of your accomplishment. Education tends to make people equal.

Current job
I am active as a community leader, I also teach in our day-care center which is run by our local organization. Right not my pre-occupation is to earn money for the children's education. I would like them to finish their education. To do this, my husband who is a garbage collector, and I raise some 10 to 12 pigs to augement our income.

Drop-outs
Basically poverty. Money is the main factor - or the lack of it. Bad influence of peers (barkada). Problems in the family, ie. parents constantly fighting over money, gambling. Difficulty in understanding what one is taught.

Jo Crisotomo Ignacio
He is 17 years old and single, working part-time as a construction worker and barber. He was at second year high school, but stopped for three years because of family problems which required them to constantly move from one place to another.

Education and goals in life
My goal is to finish my schooling and take up criminology. I also want to have my own family that is stable, unlike my experience with my family now. Education will allow me to find work, earn and serve my family and community.

Values - family and people

I believe in honesty and asserting my rights specially if I am not at fault. But, if I am at fault, I will immediately owe up to my mistake.

I also value family and relations. I want all my family and relatives to be in good moral standing and financially stable.

Values upheld by education
Education puts a premium on good manners and right conduct (mabuting asal), and also on honesty. Education also teaches us to respect our parents, elders - be they rich or poor.

Education also values independence and self-reliance, not to rely on others.

We are also taught the value of sharing/giving our opinion, to explain our thoughts and ideas.

Science on the other hand, teaches us to care for our environment.

Self-formation
My parents had a deeper influence in shaping/moulding me. Then, my environment also had a big impact on my self-formation/person.

Education expands one's mind/consciousness on many aspects of life- like work, relating to other people, knowledge of our world.

Strength of self
I am strong/developing as a human being because I believe in the capacity of others to understand my weaknesses. I believe we can change and develop if we improve our capacities to understand the situations of every individual - teachers and parents who will take the time to explain, who have faith in my capacity to change for the better.

But, in the last analysis, the individual is responsible for his/her own development; family/parents, we cannot rely on education alone for our growth, development, strength.

Quality education
Quality education adopts its services, curriculum, teaching processes to the conditions of the student. Quality education provides for adequate books for each student. Quality education ensures the safety, security of all students.

I have many stories to tell. Once I had to go to school without the required patch on my white school shirt (school patch) and the guard, under the instruction of the teachers, would not let me in because we did not meet the requirements of the school. I talked to the guard and told him, ":Look, I come from a poor family, we did not have enough money to buy the patch. Could you not let me in for today?" And he let me in. My question is, which is more important for the student's development - the patch or to learn?

We have canteens, but the prices of food is higher than most stores because teachers and the school have to earn money from the canteen.

Students clean their classrooms, and are required to clean our dirty toilets. Sometimes, there are only two toilets for the entire school of hundreds of students.

There are also instances when, students or drop outs extort money from the students.

Worse, students continue to be shamed by their teachers.

Quality education understands the situation of students, the learners.

Budget
Government should allot 40% of its budget for education, more if necessary why? Because everyone who now works is a product of our education system. If we put in more money for quality education, we will get better citizens.

My parents/mother allots 40 to 45% of her earnings for our education.

Schools attended
I have attended only public schools in city centers.

Current system of education
Very poor system of education because students are not provided adequate resources for learning - books, classrooms. We are 50 in a class in a room which can only accommodate 30 to 40. We have no electric fans. You can small all kinds of scent in our classroom. Teachers do not respect the child. We are called "sons/daughters of bitches".

Main function of education
Provide work for everyone. To develop our country and society.

Who benefits
Everyone should benefit from education, rich or poor. Who benefits, our corrupt government officials.

Impact of education
Impact of education should be positive, but more often, the individual turns out to be very protective of his self-interest that is why nothing comes out good for the Pilipino. Many Pilipinos are like crabs (alluding to the "crab mentality" description of/for Pilipinos where Pilipinos - like crabs, pull down anyone who improves his life situation in the desire to get to the top ahead of the others).

Current status
I plan to go back to school next year, right now, I cut hair for a fee of P10.

Drop-out
I can fill a lot of papers with reasons why students drop out:
- Lack of money
- Lack of self confidence in one's capacity to excel
- Teachers who do not respect the child
- Peer pressure
- Teachers who do not have faith in the student's capacity to grow
- Fraternity
- Family problems (problems of parents that affect children)
- Laziness
- Vices, drugs
- Need to relax, have a good time
- Break-up of relationship with a loved one
- Constant shaming of the child

Here are some methods how the teacher shames the child and often the parent too:
- When parents are called the teachers shame them too by saying "Your child has no shame, how will he ever learn?"
- Spanking
- Slapping behind the nape
- Squatting
- Putting a sign/asking the guilty student to carry a sign which says "I am talkative" or "I am lazy"
- Throwing the notebook outside the window in disgust when the student is unable to do his assignment
- Hitting the nose
- Hitting the head on the blackboard

4. Joseph Moreno

Single, male, 16 years old. Currently in first year high school in a public school. Born in Quezon City. Works as a part time construction worker earning P600 per month. Stopped schooling four times because of family problems.

Education and goals in life
I want to finish my education and study criminology so I can earn money and help my parents and family. I do not know if I will reach my goal in life because we do not have enough money for college.

Family values and values upheld by education
I value education. My parents have always to value our education. I also believe in being honest to my friends.

Values upheld by education

In school we are taught to respect our parents and elders. We are also taught to take care of ourselves, to respect ourselves. This I particularly remember being discussed in our Values Education subject.

Self-formation
I am more influenced by my family than by education. I have been and still maybe continue to be affected by my parents' fights.

My education has helped me in my self-formation because it has helped me be less ashamed (hiya) of myself. I started to be shy and ashamed of myself when my parents - and then some of my teachers too - often blamed me for mistakes I committed.

Strength of self
I continue to seek the respect of my peers, my family, specially the respect of my younger sisters, who do not look up to me as their older brother. I am shaped by my relations with my friends (pakikisama sa tao). (Note: in English pakikisama is translated as smooth interpersonal relations by Jaime Bulatao)

Quality of education
Quality education is education that that respects the child. "Ginagago kami ng maraming guro". Our teachers do not respect us - we are treated stupidly. Teachers are not patient with children, specially the slow learners. We are cursed (minumura).

Budget for education
Government should allot around 40% of total budget for education. I asked my mother and she says we spend 30% to 40% of our family's income for education for all of us.

Schools attended
I have always attended public schools in urban city centres. We are Catholics.

Opinion on current system of education
Maybe the present system of education is reflected in the state of our school. Here all facilities are broken - chairs, windows, blackboard, ilaw. Our toilet is really inhuman. Not enough books.

Main function of education
Education should teach all students and people to expand their thinking and equip us to improve our lives.

Who benefits from education?
Maybe all of us, but basically the rich who have the money to get into the right jobs.

Main effect and impacts of education
I believe that education is important5 to get a good job. But I also think education is not good for many students, specially the poor whose problems are many and complicated and who are also the ones who receive bad education.

Current status and involvement
I am presently studying to try to get part-time manual jobs on weekends.

Drop-out
Poverty. Many students also drop out because they are shamed by their teachers. I have classmates whose heeds were banged on the blackboard when they cannot give correct answers.

5. Mrs. Virginia G Obispo

58 years old, married. 27 years a teacher. Bachelor's degree and then a Master's degree in Education. Currently a Master teacher 2.

Through my education I was able to pursue some of my goals like giving children a good education, help my parents and being an effective teacher. However, it hindered my goal of being an effective server of God because I dedicated most of my time to my job, which is teaching.

I always uphold strong family ties and "pagatanaw ng utang na loob" to parents because without them I could not be what I am now.

Love of God. Love of country promote citizenry.

My education greatly helped me in my self-formation and development. As a result of it, modesty aside, I am now a model parent of my children, an effective teacher, a good follower of Christ and a good citizen of my country.

I attribute my strength as human being to my education and profession.

For me, quality education simply means education where students achieve the highest quality of education through effective teachers, schools conducive to learning and learning materials necessary to such learnings/education. Hence students could practice or use what they had learned in words and deed.

I think the government should lay out the highest budget for education and for the personal income of teachers like me so that teachers could concentrate on their job religiously. We have the saying, "Contented cows produce good milk".

I went to rural public and private schools.

I am sorry to say that I am not satisfied with the present education. If only we can bring back our education long long before I think our nation will be great again.

The main function of education is to prepare the youth for their future and to mold them in the proper ways of becoming good children of God and useful citizens of their country.

In the lower scheme of education, I think everyone benefits from it because we have here free elementary education. But for the higher education, not a majority benefit from it because of lack of budget or financial means.

I think the main effects of education are economic progress, environment progress and literacy rate increase.

I am now teaching in an urban public school.

I think students drop out of school because of poverty, change of residence, family problem or broken home and sometimes fear of mentors.

My job changes because of promotions and change of administrator.

I am using the methods prescribed by DECS, which is the National Elementary School Curriculum - Mastery Learning.

In-service trainings by subject and grade level are provided once every year or as the need arises.

Teachers must be BSEEd graduate for the elementary and BSE graduate from the High School. He or she must also be a Civil Service eligible.

Ms Carolina B Villasin

50 years old, BSEEd, ma requirement, master Teacher 2, Married, Tupperware trainer and dealer

My educational qualifications helped me a lot to get a job not only as a teacher but other jobs also ... and to attain goals.... Because with my education I am always confident that I can handle whatever activity I am involved in.

None, because the values that we uphold in our family are the same vales that education promotes.

From elementary to high school the following values are inculcated in school: honesty, love God and country and fellow men, service and sharing, social responsibility, industry, competence and self-reliance.

I have been a successful teacher, the evidence of this were: I was promoted as a Master Teacher 2 with a salary equivalent to a salary of a Principal II and was awarded first runner up in the Search for Outstanding Teacher of Quezon City last October, 1994. I am a leader of several organisations, including church-based movements and organisations. My education also helped me to become a good citizen of our country and also a model to my family and fellow men.

My strength comes from our Creator, next from my love for my family and my education.

Quality education means that pupils absorb and internalise the knowledge implanted by an effective teacher and the effect of which is a God-fearing individual and a good citizen of one's country.

The DECS should be given the "lion's share" of the budget of the government in order that we can give the best education for the children. These will be for the teachers' salary, for the school building and the teaching materials of the teachers.

During my elementary days I attended both private Catholic school, while in my secondary days I was enrolled also in a Catholic school and also in a private non-sectarian school. I graduated in a state college for my BSEEd degree.

I am very much for education because without it we can not land a job and our life would be miserable.

The main function of education is to open the mind of man, to prepare them for their future and to have a wholesome life, not only economically but spiritually and socially.

The first to benefit is the individual himself, his family and the country.

If everybody is literate and be given the opportunity to finish the highest education they could get, the country will be progressive, there will be economic and social development.

I am a teacher of an urban public school.

The foremost reason why pupils drop out is because of poverty. Next is family problem like the separation of the father and mother and also the change of residence.

I have been in provincial and District Supervisor's Office as a teacher clerk, liaison officer for the last 21 years, but when I was promoted to master Teacher 1 and now as master Teacher 2 I was sent back to the classroom as class adviser.

As a public school teacher I am using the method prescribed by DECS, the mastery learning system.

Seminars and in-service trainings are provided for the teachers every year by subject area to update the teachers in new trends and innovations in education.

Teachers are not compensated much.

By tutoring 1 or 2 pupils during my off-time and also as a Tupperware trainer and dealer.

One must have a BSE, BSEEd, BSIE and BSEA graduate. She must have passed the professional Board Examination for Teachers.

Benilda B Villasan

24 years old, single, BS Biology graduate, third year medical student

My education helped me in redefining my goals and aspirations in life.

None, in fact Filipino family values are promoted by education.

Education upholds family values and promotes the importance of family, love of our country and love for God Almighty.

Education has helped me in my self-formation and development by making me aware of my rights as a human being. And by making me responsible to every action and word.

I attribute my strength as a human being to my past experiences, especially the mistakes I made.

My idea of quality education is if such education would be an effective instrument for human transformation and national development, and it should be an equally opportunity to everybody, regardless of sex, race, religion, age and economic status.

I think the government should allot the biggest budget to education.

Types of school I went to: both state-public and private-exclusive.

I am for education.

Main function of education is to be an effective instrument for human transformation and national development.

At present, I think the rich people benefit from education. The poor cannot afford the expensive education.

The main effects of education: a civilised yet not necessarily better and honest individual or citizen, an informed or knowledgeable yet not necessarily intelligent or wise individual.

Studying medicine proper.

Student drop-out to school mostly because of poverty and because of family problems.

Anonymous

42 years old, married, 4 children, MA units in Social Work, 17 years in school, feminist grassroots educator, earns P10,000 to P15,000 per month, birthplace Manila.

My life objective prior to graduation from college was to be rich, maintain my own business, maybe serve my country in the process of accumulating wealth. One year before graduation, I was influenced by campus activism and decided to prioritise service to my country almost equating this with serving the family. I had to reinvent my whole mindset, viewpoint, worldview. I realize education did not prepare me to serve my country. I spoke English proficiently and could not effectively communicate in Tagalog. I know no other local dialect. Nor could I comprehend how people could be poor. I believed they, the poor, had it coming for being lazy, underachievers, indulgent. I believed the poor did not put their education to good use.

But education would not serve me well if pursued my original objective to acquire wealth.

My husband and I always prioritised service to others as a value. We all believed in cooperation, teamwork and love for one's country. I was educated in a Spanish-run school during my elementary years. Here I was taught the value of obedience, decorum, prayer, charity. For college, I went to an American convent school. Here I learned competition, the value of individualism. I acquired a Western worldview. 17 years of education and I felt so alienated from my country and my people.

Education honours academic excellence over practical, life experience. Education puts a premium on social class over one of humanity. Education in many ways corrupts the indigenous mind and culture. Education drains one's indigenous roots. It moulds people to one culture or mindset, one world view - the mindset and world view of Western capitalism.

I am a product of my life experiences - specially of my activism and my involvement with the women's movement. Education has helped me to speak and write English proficiently. It has taught me conservatism - not to rock the boat. Education has helped me to forget my ancestral roots, my culture. I continue to wage a battle against these learned and acquired values.

Like Lino Brocka[2], I am a product of Spanish conservatism, American liberalism and Filipino spirituality; which makes for a schizophrenic individual constantly torn between conflicting forces.

Three forces in my life make up my person - who I am today: my past - my family of origin and my indigenous ancestors; my political activism where I learned to realign self in relation to people, country, the world; and my spirituality - my relationship with nature, God, the cosmic world, my feminism.

After all these years of high faluting education I realise the correctness of our indigenous practices - our connectedness with nature, our premium on relations over money, power and prestige. The value we put on honesty, integrity, oneness over corruption, material wealth and competition.

Quality education should make for a rooted individual - one anchored in his or her cultural roots which allows for the development of a collective consciousness. Quality education should be fun, applied or applicable to day-to-day life. Quality education should allow for leaders or leadership to evolve and unfold in all life situations. Quality education should be woman and child friendly. Quality education should allow for

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[2] Filipino nationalist film director, killed in a car crash

a country's development on a daily basis. I should not have to wait for the turn of the century[3] to see the fruits of development.

Budget outlay should allow for free high school, subsidised college education, continuing education for government employees. 70% to 80% of income goes to children's tuition, books, daily allowance, field trips, extra-curricular activities.

My children all go to urban private Catholic schools for girls.

Education is poorer in quality, irrelevant to country's development but relevant or may be relevant for global economic needs - i.e. computer science, tourism. More expensive to acquire a good education nowadays.

Main function of education? Acquire skills, capacity, technology for everyone's use. Foster analytical skills. Education should teach people to care for the earth - for life, for each human being.

Who benefits from education? The rich - the middle-class mainly because the whole societal system is geared to serve the rich and the middle class.

The main effects of education - education system filters those individuals who can now serve the present structure, the "system". It prepares individuals to serve the global economic system which is dominated by Western capitalists or more appropriately, big multi-national corporations.

Education teaches one to forget one's indigenous roots, one's way of life> Education teaches people to put a premium on materialistic ownership - land, property, assets, cars, equipments. Education teaches people how to consume, to buy, patronise advertised products. Education teaches students to value status, power, money and wealth and the male over the female. It socialises man and woman for gender roles.

I am currently engaged in feminist grassroots education and engaged in evolving a business outfit of women.

Students drop out because they are alienated from the education system. We are made to conform, absorb, fall into place. Many Filipinos cannot adapt to an educational system which uses English as a medium of instruction.

The educational system is such a different world from that of the world of the poor, everyday, faceless Filipino.

RTG

41 years old, married, 4 children, 16 years in school, undergraduate[4] 3rd year Business Administration and Engineering, P60,000 per year, born Manila
My goal in life is to have a simple life - a sufficient income to meet my individual and my family's needs.

My formal education taught me how to read and write, and also it helped me to develop my scientific analytical skills and logic of reasoning. These skills I can use for my daily life, but I am not able to practise my engineering and accounting skills because I did not pursue these as careers.

Informal education helped me more to achieve my life's goals, although it may not always provide me for sufficient income. For my informal education, I learned community work, organising and training. These skills I never acquired from formal schooling.

Education develops values:
Personal/family - love and understanding the other, service to others
Societal - sense of community, acquiring the needed technology for development
Education - competition, individualism

Values of education - Our present education system values commercialism; you pay high tuition for good education to ensure a high paying job. Education equips the student to earn money and not to train the citizens for the country's development. Thus, when one goes to school, his or her primary objective is for individual economic gain, not for societal gains. The latter becomes secondary, if not accidental; which in fact should be the priority of education and where learning geared toward development, societal development and an individual's financial gain should be a natural consequence of a country's economic development.

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[3] Reference to President Ramos's Philippines 2000 policy
[4] College drop out; undergraduate is used to refer to an incomplete college cycle

As a product of formal education I am a relatively decent person shaped and influenced by an aristocratic education system which high value on eating with spoon, not talking with your mouth full. Since I can do both, I am now part of "high society".

My environment shaped me. The school is only part of the bigger educator, which is life. Society shaped me - my environment as a leader of an urban poor community, my environment in student activism. At the height of my youth, from 20 to 30, I was shaped by political activism. I was full of vitality. I was driven, committed, determined, aggressive. I was then excited to learn about the real life, the real world.

Now I still uphold the same principles I had when I was an activist: democracy, freedom, human rights - *but I* also have to concern myself with my family's needs.

Quality education is a process towards collective learning and is geared to serve the basic needs of a society and its people - specially the future needs of a society. Quality education is one which makes use of practical experiences. Yet we do not so away with courses on general interests like social services and the arts. These are important subjects to help students contextualise the processes and direction of development.

Quality education is geared toward industrialisation. Quality education follows society's pulse, its thrusts, the people's processes of learning - which is participatory, democratic and collective.

Quality education is one where the teacher is not the sole provider of knowledge.

Budget outlay - being a basic service to the people, education should receive the bigger share of the government's budget to allow for more of the citizens to be educated and so more changes can be made to continually improve the education system.

Family allows 60% to 70% of income for education.

I attended an urban, private, non-sectarian university.

Present education system is too commercialised and is an expensive product not within the means of the masses. Realistically, 100 students enroll for elementary education, only 50 make it to high school and only five will finish college.

College graduates are few and their capacity to think, analyse and express their ideas are inadequate. These college graduates will need further on-the-job training before country and corporation can maximise and optimise his skills, abilities and capacities.

Take Dolores.... She comes from an urban poor community, graduates from nursing, but hardly knew how to read and write because her parents bribed her teachers to give her passing grades. Now she is in the United States and she is even more American than the Americans. And everyone in the community is so proud of her.

As a people, we believe that if you speak English, you are educated. But if you speak Tagalog very very well, you only an ordinary person. People may admire you, but this will not qualify you to earn your degree. In many offices, the same reality exists: if you speak Tagalog well, no one bothers with you. But if you speak good English, everyone receives you with open arms.

The main function of education should be to correctly direct the learner's attitudes, abilities, and capacities to develop new technologies for the masses and for society's utilisation and good.

Who benefit from education? The ruling class, the elite, the rich, the people who control the economy.
Change only comes from a collective, participatory and democratic education, where the interests of the majority prevail over the individual's glory.

Education, the present education system has managed to create hypocrisy in culture. Our society is a farce - one big hypocrisy. People are afraid to accept the truth that our country and people are poor and we force ourselves to believe that society can allow everyone to live in high fashion. Education does not ground us in reality.

Everyone is enticed to shop at ShoeMart, the poor, the middle-class and the rich - they all come out happy after shopping at these air-conditioned malls. Yet when you come home to your small hovel of a home, and open your goods from the big malls, you are saddened because you realise you could actually have bought the same goods at the wet market for half the price.

Makati[5] is the epitome of hypocrisy. It is the concrete expression of Philippine education. It - Makati - actually tells the students: "Study and all of Makati can be yours. Tend to your manners. Be one of us and you can have money, power and control."

My current job is in social management or services - contrary to what I trained for in school.

Students drop out primarily because they are pressured by society, by society's deceptive and hypocritical standards - a clean uniform, clean notebooks, complete books, allowance for food. Simple things which are difficult for the poor to comply with - one because the poor do not always have the money to provide for food allowance. The poor also do not have running water to wash uniforms with.

Many students educate themselves for one reason alone: to earn or so they can earn money. They do not educate themselves so they can develop and evolve their humanness.

Esther and Manny Manaligud

40 and 39 years old, 5 children, educated to 2nd year college and vocational, 13 years and 12 years in school, P4,000 per month

My personal objective or our common objective as husband and wife is to have peace of mind through financial stability. We hope to achieve financial stability by setting up our own small business.

Our immediate goal is for our children to finish college. We still have four children to send to school.

We both did not finish formal education, so we do not practice our careers or profession. But our education has helped us the analytical skills to make decisions - aside from the practical skills one derives from reading, math and writing. We also both feel that we are more confident as human beings because of our education.

Our inability to finish our college courses may have deterred us from our life goal of achieving financial stability sooner. But, with God's help, we can still attain our goal.

As a family we teach our children these values: kindness and respect for others, goodness, ability to relate well with other, respect for the child. We also teach our children to be active citizens of the country by not being selfish and upholding the common interest of a community over one's own interest.

Education upholds negative and positive values. For example, it is in school where children learn the concept and reality of favouritism - whether the teacher favours a student with high marks, or who is able to provide him or her with gifts. Education also values intelligence over an individual's ability or capacity to excel. We always tell our children that what is of more importance is our capacities as individuals to live life.

Our education helps us to become self-reliant as individuals and as a family. Our education has helped us or continues to help us manage our lives through what we have learned and continued to learn and our abilities and capacities. Had we not gone to school our capacities to decide would be greatly limited by our limited knowledge. With education - we can continue to learn and arrive at the most appropriate or correct decisions.

Who we are is a result of our inner strength, our education and our innate capacities.

Quality education would mean adequate facilities specially laboratories for science, books, good library, sufficient ratio of student and teacher. My child's class has a ratio of one teacher for every 68 students. This should be one teacher for 30 students.

Budget - 50% of government budget should go to education. We allot 70% to 80% of our budget.

Types of school attended
Ester - During elementary I was enrolled in a rural public school. High school - I went to a small private school in town. College - I went to a city college in Baguio.
Manny - Elementary and high school - I went to a rural public school. Then I took up a vocational course in a private school here in Manila.

Reactions to education

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[5] Manila's business district

Manny - I wish education would be more geared to developing or enhancing the capacities and abilities of the individual. I have always been interested in industrial electrical courses and I pursued this - mostly I studied on my own too.
Ester - I have always wanted to go abroad. That is why I took up nursing. I did not finish my course, so I could not go to the States.

Education is geared to increase our knowledge for our self-development and the development of our country.

Sixty per cent of education benefits the individual, forty per cent goes to benefit society.

Education should ideally improve an individual's condition and the country's status. But one look at our government and you know immediately education is not being put into good use because government officials use their knowledge and skills for corruption more than for service to others.

Present position
Manny - I work as a hotel maintenance for my sister who is married to a Swiss. They have a beach house here which I maintain.
Ester - I am currently a housewife and a community leader of a women's group. Before this I worked in a factory producing micro-chips. Then I became a sales representative for a small firm.

Drop-out is mostly because of poverty. But you also have the rich people who drop out simply because they have other involvements or priorities. But they can always go back to school when they want to. And they have their own businesses to fall back on even if they do not graduate.

Anonymous

Wife, married, 35 years old, husband 30 years old
BS Psychology, 15 years in school; Vocational 13 years in school
4 children
No fixed income

Our common objective is to raise a family and to send our children to school - at least provide them with the means for a college education.

Wife - My personal objective in life is to apply my learnings for the children's future.

Husband - I always wanted to be a newscaster or radio broadcaster.

Education has helped us financially. Before my husband had his serious accident and a subsequent operation, we had our own small business. But our small savings and capital were drained for his operations. But we both did not give in to poverty and life's hardships. I went into ready-to-wear dresses. And now that we both don't have a stable job, I am trying to help our community organisation in putting up a cooperative. We just find setting up our day care nursery for pre-schoolers with the help of a religious organisation.

We both believe in the primacy of respect as essential to relationships. Maintaining an open communication or being able to communicate to others is another value we uphold. We also believe in responsible citizenship and participating in community affairs.

Poor as we are right now, we both participate in community life. We both believe we have our responsibilities to work for society.

Education upholds those values: good manners and right conduct, discipline, problem solving in daily life. We believe all problems have corresponding solutions. And finally, spirituality.

Education has helped us to gain respect, self-respect. Our education has helped us in relating to the public.

Husband - I am a result of my personal interest - I am particularly interested in media and public speaking. Although I took up X-ray radiology for my vocational course. Who I am is a result of my personal endeavours.

Wife - I am currently part of a resource institution, a service program in our poor community. I apply my learnings in our community.

Our strength we derive from God, our faith in God. God will always be with us and will not forsake us.

Quality education begins at home - how we raise and parent our children serves as the basis for formal education.

The government allocates less that 30% for education. Is should allocate 35% to 40% based on our GNP. The government should subsidise both education and health since these are two basic requirements for productive citizens. This way, the citizens in turn can allocate more for proper nutrition, good housing, and other basic needs.

Types of school attended
Wife - I have always gone to public schools in Manila
Husband - I went to private schools and then public schools in the city

Education should definitely be improved. It's too commercialised. Tuition is too expensive - specially computer courses which for me is more of a benefit for developed countries who produce these equipments.

Education does not respond to the needs of the poor and is geared only for those who can afford to pay for education.

Education is an instrument to mould citizens for society's development and a good and secure future. Ironically, education can also work against development - our whole environmental problem, forest denudation is a result of learning and education used for one's self-interest.

Ideally everyone should benefit from education. Realistically, private school owners profit the most because they school as business.

The good effects of education can be: it may ensure a good future, it is a good foundation for life, it can help secure a good income. Negative effects are - there is an army of unemployed educated graduates. Education is also more theoretical than practical and is very expensive.

As you can see, we are trying to rebuild our lives. We are both unemployed and I try to earn money from my photography skills.

Students drop out because of poverty, broken homes, drugs and bad company.

Emy Ciano

28 years old, married, 2 children
Reached grade 4, 5 years of schooling
Native of Salat, Kepangan, Benguet, Mountain Province
No fixed income, planting and harvest season income ranges from P2,000 to P 5,000 for three months

My objective in life is to provide our children with a better life than what I had. I am unemployed for a long time, except for a job which Sister now provides me. We also have no property, no land - since our ancestors believe that land is not something that humans can own. But I think someone - a landowner - now owns the land we work on.

If I finished my studies, maybe, life would have been better. Our family has lived in these mountains for almost 60 years. We are eleven in the family. Our parents are also farmers - vegetable growers, they never owned their land.

I have always believed if one is able to study, life almost automatically improves. Because I only finished Grade 4, I cannot take on another job. Of the eleven children in our family, only two finished vocational courses. Nine only reached elementary education.

We believe in honest and hard work. We believe in good relationships with others. We believe in cleanliness - a clean house and home is equal to a clean soul. We believe in respecting our environment and nature. We have very simple values.

I do now know if I am answering this question correctly, but I think it is always good to have an education because this is essential to getting a job. If you have an education, you will have a clearer idea of your life's direction.

I know how to write and count. I cannot read very well. But writing and counting are important in doing business. Writing is also essential as a means of communication and establishing relationships.

I am a product of my culture and faith, my religion or the church. My family is the biggest influence in my life. I would not exist if my family did not help me throughout my life. Without my culture (Igorot[6]), my faith, and my family - I am nothing.

Quality education should guarantee everyone's right to a good education. Thus it should cost very little (low tuition), books should be in our local or indigenous dialect (Kankanayan). We should be able to study our culture and way of life - maybe all Filipinos should know and study our indigenous way of life.

Education is not a luxury. It is a basic service. Therefore government should allocate 80% of government funds for all types of education - formal, non-formal and continuing. We should have more scholarships too.

Family allocates 40% of income for education. Our children walk to school - it takes them an hour to get to school, another hour to walk back home on these mountain trails.

Types of school attended - rural public school. This is the only type of school in the mountains and we do not even have a high school.

Schools are very far from communities. High school and college education are not free either. Who can therefore afford to go to school?

Education's main function is to provide us with more jobs or the skills to take on other jobs. Farming is also a job, but our products are priced so low. We spend so much time planting vegetables and we get so little in return. These sayote (vegetables growing on a vine) are bought from us by traders or buyers at P0.50 per kilo. In manila we know they sell for P10 to P20. No education means no access to higher pay.

The rich benefit from education.

Education allows more access to jobs, higher paying jobs.

Present work - like my ancestors, I grow vegetables.

Students drop out because of high tuition fees. Parents do not have the money for education.

Pelisa Uma-An

46 years old, married, 3 children
14 years in school, finished BSE (Bachelor of Science in Education Major in Home Economics)
Income ranges from P4,ooo to P10,000 (joint income, husband works in Baguio) per month
Native of Salat, Kapangan, Benguet, Mountain Province

My goal, our goal as husband and wife is to send our children to college. Two are now in college, one is in high school. I am an Ibaloy, an indigenous tribe of Mountain Province, but I was able to study in a private Catholic school because I was given a scholarship by the Sisters. What I learned I try to share with my children. I try to be an example for my children. I also want them to go to private, Catholic schools. I want them to imbibe that values I learned - discipline and love of God. Public schools are defective - and have inadequate teaching aids. Public schools also teach the wrong values to children - for example they are taught to serve their interests first whereas private Catholic schools teach the students to serve others also.

These are the values we give importance to and which we share with our children: discipline, love of God, earning money honestly, hard work.

Education emphasises the values of: learning, earning money, attaining one goal (being goal oriented), finishing a degree.

Education has helped me to gain more self-confidence. Being an Ibaloy, my education has helped me in attaining my goals for my family, specially my children's future.

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[6] Tribal group in northern Luzon

When I was small the missionaries influenced my family a lot. I lived with grandparents who also taught me fear of God, honesty and the value of loving others. I still fear doing the wrong things because of my fear of God. As Ibaloys too we are taught honesty as a way of life.

Quality education - is simply integrating love of God in our daily life. Public schools should emphasise love of God over self-interest.

The government should increase its budget for education to cover free high school and college scholarships, specially now that jobs are more difficult to find. We allot 50% to 70% (or our income) for our children's education.

Types of school attended - for elementary and high school I went to rural public schools. College I studied in a private Catholic school

The present education system is very expensive and once you graduate the student is not even assured of a good paying job, much less even a job.

For many farming is not a job. Although we earn good money from our harvest, specially our sale of animals. We also have some land planted to local, indigenous rice. But our present culture does not give much prestige to farming, to working with one's hands. Prestige is given to office jobs where you do not get your hands dirty. Farming to many is viewed as a lowly position - thus, even if it feeds many of the people of our country, farmers do not think of it as a job.

Education helps us specially through the skills of reading and writing. Education also helps us to think - to make decisions on our own. Basically, education helps us develop our self-confidence to relate and interact with other people of society.

On the other hand, education changes the individual and tends to make a person proud or arrogant. It also changes our values, for example to many money is God, power is God.

More often education benefits the male. We only have to look at people in government. There are more males than women. But education should benefit both male and female.

The main effects of education are learning to read, write and think. Literacy - because literacy widens our mind, our world. Even if I stay in Salat all my life, I know I am connected to the bigger world through my education.

My current occupation is supplementing my family's income by gardening, raising and selling animals, root crops, rice, trees.

Students drop out of school because of poverty (lack of money), vices like drug addiction, discouragements or the fear of failing.

Appendix 7 - Topics for attitudes survey and sources

Below is a list of topics which arose from a series of texts on education's role in development. The topics are in no particular order and were recorded as the texts were read, whenever a claim was made for the role of education. The list was used, alongside material from other sources to construct the questionnaire used to survey higher education students.

possessions - acquisitiveness, types and level, car ownership
individualism - importance of family ties
children - expectations
control of own future
science; fatalism; job status and type
economic status; definitions of success
prime age to marry; deferment of children
working wife; domestic help
type of education required for their children
willingness/desire to work away from home
open choice - where to live?
poor people - why poor, education, backwardness
why lack development - education, literacy, skilled people, competitiveness, private/public mix in economy, monopolies
technical and scientific demands of modern industry
widening tastes
independence; critical attitudes
provides personnel capable of and able to carry out management
achievement ==high income; achievement ==consumption
arts essential?
decisive factor in development is a supply of qualified talent
thrift as a virtue?
education as social purpose?
scepticism = systematic questioning of beliefs
pluralism (Galbraith, 1969, 1972, 1973)

increased literacy = growth
increased education = greater agricultural production
education of women gives higher payoff to society than education of men
education leads to higher earnings (Psacharopoulos 1984)

promoting national values
promoting ideas of diversity
equalises opportunity (Holmes 1980)

develops respect for authority of bosses
prepares people directly for the workplace
traits generally negatively recorded by teachers - independence, self-reliance, initiative, complexity of thought, originality, curiosity, creativity
learning for its own sake, i.e. not done by functional schooling
(Gintis 1971)

earning not related to schooling (queue)
education is a screen
engenders progress
encourages mobility (Hunt 1988)

UPE - desirable?
universal secondary education - same?
quality needed more than universality
basic skills of literacy and numeracy are more important than the development of technical skills
qualifications of teachers affect quality of education
salaries of teachers affect quality of education
produces stability

contentment
educated electorate capable of decision-making
improves health awareness
reduces disparity between rich and poor (UNDP 1989)

education determines income distribution
promotes equity
develops increased productivity
increases life expectancy
aids the spread of modern technology
contributes more in providing specific skills
contributes more in providing basic skills for everyone
determines earnings
reasoning skills; social skills; communication skills
attitude towards innovation and change and modernisation
effect on agricultural prod
crime reduction; social cohesion
technological innovations
discourages fertility
education or work experience - importance?
equality of opportunity; intergenerational mobility (Psacharopoulos et al 1985)

social mobility of the poor
expand technical and administrative functions
professional and managerial skills
political socialisation
cultural homogenisation
increases productivity
maintain status quo
reduces unemployment
widens gap between rich and poor
better work orientation- perseverance-discipline-subordination to rules; teachers give better grades to such students
creativity, problem solving, mental flexibility, spontaneity; teachers give worse grades
traditional pluralistic and ascription-based systems discouraged? born to be something or can make oneself?
(Simmons 1980)

ethos of science - universalism, communism, disinterestedness, organised scepticism
athletic activities, social clubs, games, school folklore, opening exercises, assemblies, pep-meetings, organised cheering, commencement preparations, school songs... develop informal mechanisms of social control (Nagai 1976)

alleviate poverty
cause social and economic change
individual self-improvement
providing competencies for productive work, mobilising towards political consciousness, increasing equality, be a force for national cohesion
promotes society's stability and cohesion
promote political participation
attitudinal modernity, civic knowledge, participation
preparation for authoritative roles
increases human capital
political competency, economic efficacy
socialise to status culture; preparation for limited and routine roles
(Bock 1982)

respect for elders/authority
more likely to be rewarded for being polite and respectful rather than for intellectual growth
free debate, shared decision making, equal opportunity and cooperation
using English hampers national development (Wurfel 1988)

change traditionalism, kinship dominance, fatalism, ability to challenge, individualism, innovation
achievement orientation, rational criterion for awarding jobs, achievement skills and hard work
promotes entrepreneurship
development of literacy
self-discipline, hard work and achievement (Webster 1984)

self-actualisation, productivity
national pride, discipline, commitment to meaningful and productive participation
love of God and country, respect for human rights, love for truth, freedom, justice and democracy, work ethics, professionalism, productivity, discipline and self-reliance
gratitude, loyalty and commitment to serve society, entrepreneurism
(Neda 1986)

nationalistic values, cultural heritage values, moral and spiritual, self-actualisation, social and economic
deep commitment to duties, moral and professional values, self-awareness, duties
(SEARRAG 1987)

concern for individual, skills for acquiring knowledge, understanding self and others, gainful occupation, meeting exigencies of living, enjoying life
maximum development of adolescent, specific potentials, sense of nationhood, develop intellectual and work skills, (Asistin 1982)

technology and innovation (Easterlin, 1981)

spiritual and moral values, faith in God; citizen rights, Philippine culture, health knowledge and habits; functional literacy in vernacular, Pilipino and English; fundamental knowledge
benefits of colonialism;
respect for authority (bureaucracy)
obedience, submission to authority and elders (Manalang 1977)

earnings more determined by background than education
people with merit will succeed anyway (Carnoy 1977)

rationality, efficiency, effectiveness
contribute to political stability
benefits socially disadvantaged
promotes social mobility and social change (Arnove 1982)

promotes citizenship; integrates into social structure, allows people to carry out their own, self-directed development; promotes role of state; literacy; newspaper readership; environmental awareness; racial tolerance; self-actualization
cooperative spirit (Ramirez et al 1982)

getting into education - access
staying on; output - people learn same things; outcome - access to employment
(Farrell 1982)

ideals: rationality; development and planning for development; rise in levels of living; social and economic equalisation; improved institutions and attitudes; national consolidation; political democracy; democracy at grass roots; social discipline versus democratic planning; derived value premises
development of indigenous language seen as positive
nation state strengthened and more united
way of avoiding manual work
identification of own ambition with national development
better be uncritical and learn
preparation for elite membership
education means nothing without exam success? (Myrdal 1971)

leadership, tolerance, self-discipline, obedience to the truth, conscience relevant to new roles and temptations
education in Phil too academic, need more practical skills (Hunter, 1963)

universalism, communism, disinterestedness, organised scepticism; functional specificity, universalism, achievement orientation, collectivity orientation, affective neutrality (Parsons 1964)

science independent of state; must be apportioned on merit (scientific knowledge too specific); athletic activities, social clubs, folklore, opening exercises, pep-meetings etc (Nagai 1976)

alleviate poverty, unification,
rich nations rich because of greater skills and training
deferment of gratification, entrepreneurial spirit, creative risk taking, achievement motivation, attitudinal modernity
schooling helps people to define where they can best fit into society
promotes political participation and awareness
attitudinal modernity, civic knowledge and participation
sorter and selector rather than a socialiser
belief in schools power to allocate and sort, greater socialising power of the school
education system decides what forms of knowledge carry authority
education challenges authority (Bock 1982)

sacral versus secular mentality
supernaturally determined luck
politeness, respect for authority in the school
amount of concentration on English
inability to secure upward mobility in Phil - migrate
promotes American life-styles
social status determines access to education (Wurfel 1988)

academic curricula in primary school fosters migration to towns
farmers benefit from literacy
education protects from domination by outsiders
change sense of time; more open to new ideas (Bude 1984)

education remnant of dependency on colonial power
need to follow example set by USA, Europe, Japan
US aid to education is a means of promoting American values and culture (Altbach 1982)

use of English promotes US values (Goodno 1991)

promotes acquisitive activity
educated Filipinos should be compelled to work for at least five years in the Philippines
schools train people for their place in society (Weber 1964)

teachers are under-valued
too great a disparity between education available in rural areas and that available in the towns (Unesco 1984)

informal education best at promoting attitudes (Colletta et al 1982)

media important in transmitting values and creating wants
widens peoples' horizons (Adelman et al 1973)

progress and mobility fostered (Hunt 1988)

education encourages you to think more of and for yourself (Fiala et al 1987)

trust, secularism, high risk taking, favourable attitude towards manual work, independence from family and kin, universalism, need-achievement, futurism, recognition of value of change, mass-media participation, calculability, dignity, efficacy, national identification, optimism, valuation of time, commitment to work activism, independence, urbanism, individualism, low community stratification, mass media, participation and efficacy (Holsinger 1987)

Appendix 8 - Meetings to define direction and content of study

The following people were consulted, sometimes several times, in order to establish a direction, focus and overall direction for the current study. Meetings ranged from the completely formal to informal. Earlier meetings were conducted with an open agenda. As the direction of the study emerged, they became more focused. Participants are presented in alphabetical order of surname.

No.	Name	Organisation & Location
1	Manuel Belina	Dean of Engineering, De La Salle University, Manila
2	Dr. D. Browner	Dean of Education, Far Eastern University, Manila
3	Sister G. O. Cabel	Dean of Administration, Adamson University, Manila
4	Prof. M.L. Canieso-Doronila	Education Research Program, University of the Philippines, Quezon City
5	Remili Capili	Far Eastern University, Manila
6	Ms. Cayanan	Vice Principal for Academic Affairs, Polytechnic University of the Philippines, Manila
7	Dr. R. Co	Dean of Commerce, Adamson University, Manila
8	Marivic de la Cruz	Freedom from Debt Coalition, Quezon City
9	Dr. M. Diokno	Development Studies, University of the Philippines, Quezon City
10	Ferdinand Fababier	Alliance of Concerned Teachers, Quezon City
11	Greg Fabros	Alliance of Concerned Teachers, Quezon City
12	Josefa Francisco	Women's Research Centre, Miriam College, Manila
13	Dalie Garcia	Initiatives for International Dialogue, Quezon City
14	S. Graham-Brown	Author, Refugee Council, London
15	A. de Guzman	Sociology Department, University of the Philippines, Quezon City
16	Dr. M. Ibe	Vice-Chancellor for Academic Affairs, University of the Philippines, Quezon City
17	Napoleon Imperial	National Economic Development Authority, Manila
18	Minda Lopez	Alliance of Concerned Teachers, Quezon City
19	Fe Mangahas	Institute of Women's Studies, St. Scholastica's College, Manila
20	Dean Oreta	Dean of Engineering, Adamson University, Manila
21	P. Peredo	GABRIELA and Education Forum member, Quezon City
22	Dr. C. Rivera	National Testing and Research Centre, Department of Education, Culture and Sports, Manila
23	Dr T. Rivera	Political Science Department, University of the Philippines, Quezon City
24	R. San Mateo	Dean of Education, University of the East, Manila
25	Prof. R. Simbulan	Department of Social Science, University of the Philippines, Manila/IBON Databank
26	A. Soliven	Dean of Business Department, Technology Institute of the Philippines, Manila
27	D. Tiongson-Brouwers	MAASAI, Quezon City
28	Dr. T. Tullao	Economics Department, De La Salle University, Manila
29	Dr. C. Villanueva	Department of Education, Culture and Sports, Manila
30	Dr. E. Villegas	Department of Social Science, University of the Philippines, Manila/IBON Databank
31	R. Zambrano	Technological University of the Philippines, Manila